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AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

By DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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Mr. Gosling with bust rispice bh Sent de John Rams 46

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AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

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C H A P. XIV.

The Campaign of 1777, in the Middle States.

COON after the declaration of independence, the authority of Congress was obtained for raising an army, that would be more permanent than the temporary levies, which they had previously brought into the field. It was at first proposed to recruit, for the indefinite term of the war, but it being found on experiment that the habits of the people were averse to engagements, for such an uncertain period of fervice, the recruiting officers were instructed to offer the alternative of, either enlisting for the war, or for three years. Those who engaged on the first conditions were promised a hundred acres of land, in addition to their pay and bounty. The troops raifed by Congress for the service of the United States, were called, continentals. Though in September 1776, it had been resolved, to raise 88 battalions, and in December following, authority was given to general Washington to raise 16 more, yet very little progress had been made in the recruiting business, till after the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Even after that period, fo much time was necessarily confumed before these new recruits joined the commander in chief, that his whole force at Morris-town, and the feveral out-posts, for some time, did not exceed 1500 men. Yet, what is almost incredible, these 1500 kept as many thousands of the British closely pent up in Vol. II. Brunswick.

1777. Brunswick. Almost every party that was fent out by the latter, was fuccessfully opposed by the former, and the adjacent country preserved in a great degree of tranquility.

> It was matter of aftonishment, that the British suffered the dangerous interval between the disbanding of onearmy, and the raising of another, to pass away without attempting fomething of confequence against the remaining shadow of an armed force. Hitherto there had been a deficiency of arms and ammunition, as well as of men, but in the spring of 1777, a vessel of 24 guns arrived from France at Portsmouth in New-Hampshire, with upwards of 11,000 stand of arms, and 1000 barreis of powder. Ten thousand stand of arms arrived about the same time, in another part of the United States.

> Before the royal army took the field, in profecution of the main bufiness of the campaign, two enterprizes for the destruction of American stores were undertaken, in an opposite direction to what proved eventually to be the theatre of the operations of Sir William Howe. The first was conducted by colonel Bird, the fecond by major general Tryon. The former landed with about 500 men at Peek's-kill, near 50 miles from New-York. General Washington had repeatedly cautioned the commissaries not to fuffer large quantities of provisions to be near the water, in fuch places as were accessible to shipping, but his prudent advice had not been regarded. The few Americans, who were stationed as a guard at Peek's-kill, on the approach of colonel Bird, fired the principal storehouses, and retired to a good position, about two or three miles diftant. The loss of provisions, forage, and other valuable articles, was confiderable.

March

23.

Major general Tryon, with a detachment of 2000 men, embarked at New-York, and paffing through the Sound, April 26 landed between Fairfield and Norwalk. They advanced through the country without interruption, and arrived in about 20 hours at Danbury. On their approach the few continentals who were in the town withdrew from it. The British began to burn and destroy, but abstained from injuring the property of fuch as were reputed tories .---18 houses, 800 barrels of pork and beef, 800 barrels of flour. the

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flour, 2000 bushels of grain, 1700 tents, and some other 1777. articles were lost to the Americans. Generals Wooster, Arnold and Silliman, having haftily collected a few hundred of the inhabitants, made arrangements for interrupting the march of the royal detachment, but the arms of those who came forward on this emergency, were injured by excessive rains, and the men were worn down with a march of 30 miles in the course of a day. Such dispositions were nevertheless made, and such advantageous posts were taken, as enabled them greatly to annoy the invaders when returning to their thips. General Arnold, with about 500 men, by a rapid movement, reached Ridgefield in their front---barricadoed the road, kept up a brifk fire upon them, and fustained their attack, till they had made a lodgement on a ledge of rocks on his left. After the British had gained this eminence, a whole platoon levelled at general Arnold, not more than 30 yards distant. His horse was killed, but he escaped. While he was extricating himself from his horse, a soldier advanced to run him through with a bayonet, but he shot him dead with his pistol, and afterwards got off fafe. The Americans, in feveral detached parties, harraffed the rear of the British, and from various stands kept up a scattering fire upon them, till they reached their hipping.

The British accomplished the object of the expedition, but it cost them dear .-- They had by computation 2 or 300 men killed, wounded, or taken. The loss of the Americans was about 20 killed, and 40 wounded. Among the former was Dr. Atwater, a gentleman of respectable character, and considerable influence. Colonel Lamb was among the latter. General Wooster, though feventy years old, behaved with the vigour and spirit of youth. While gloriously defending the liberties of his country, he received a mortal wound. Congress resolved, that a monument should be erected to his memory, as an acknowledgment of his merit and fervices. They also refolved, that a horse, properly caparisoned, should be presented to general Arnold, in their name, as a token of

their approbation of his gallant conduct.

Not long after the excursion to Danbury, colonel

1777

May 24.

Meigs, an enterprising American officer, transported a detachment of about 170 Americans, in whale boats, over the Sound, which separates Long-Island from Connecticut, and burned twelve brigs and sloops, belonging to the British, and destroyed a large quantity of forage and other articles, collected for their use in Sagg-Harbour on that island,—killed fix of their soldiers, and brought off 90 prisoners, without having a single man either killed or wounded. The colonel and his party returned to Guilford in 25 hours from the time of their departure, having in that short space not only completed the object of their expedition, but traversed by land and water, a space not less than 90 miles. Congress ordered an elegant sword to be presented to colonel Meigs, for his good conduct in this expedition.

June 9.

As the feafon advanced, the American army in New-Jersey, was reinforced by the successive arrival of recruits, but nevertheless at the opening of the campaign, it amounted only to 7272 men.

Great pains had been taken to recruit the British army with American levies. A commission of brigadier general had been conferred on Mr. Oliver Delancey, a loyalist of great influence in New-York, and he was authorised to raise three battalions. Every effort had been made, to raise the men, both within and without the British lines, and also from among the American prisoners, but with all these exertions, only 597 were procured. Mr. Courtland Skinner, a loyalist well known in Jersey, was also appointed a brigadier, and authorised to raise sive battalions. Great efforts were also made to procure recruits for his command, but their whole number amounted only to 517.

Towards the latter end of May, general Washington qu'tted his winter encampment at Morristown, and took a strong position at Middlebrook. Soon after this movement was effected, the British marched from Brunswick, and extended their van as far as Somerset court-house, but in a few days returned to their former station. This sudden change was probably owing to the unexpected opposition which seemed to be collecting from all quarters,

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for the Jersey militia, turned out in a very spirited man- 1777. ner, to oppose them. Six months before that same army marched through New-Jersey, without being fired upon, and even small parties of them had safely patrolled the country, at a distance from their camp; but experience having proved that British protections were no security for property, the inhabitants generally resolved to try the effects of refistance, in preference to a second submission. A fortunate mistake gave them an opportunity of affembling in great force on this emergency. Signals had been agreed on, and beacons erected on high places, with the view of communicating over the country, instantaneous intelligence of the approach of the British. A few hours before the royal army began their march, the fignal of alarm, on the foundation of a false report, had been The farmers, with arms in their hands, ran to the place of rendezvous from confiderable distances. They had fet out at least twelve hours before the British, and on their appearance were collected in formidable numbers. Whether Sir William Howe intended to force his way through the country to the Delaware, and afterwards to Philadelphia, or to attack the American army, is uncertain, but whatever was his defign, he thought proper, fuddenly to relinquish it, and fell back to Brunswick. The British army, on their retreat, burned and destroyed the farm houses on the road, nor did they spare those buildings which were dedicated to the service of the Deity.

Sir William Howe, after his retreat to Brunswick, endeavoured to provoke general Washington to an engagement, and left no manœuvre untried, that was calculated to induce him to quit his position. At one time he appeared as if he intended to push on without regarding the army opposed to him. At another he accurately examined the situation of the American encampment, hoping that some unguarded part might be found, on which an attack might be made that would open the way to a general engagement. All these hopes were frustrated. General Washington knew the full value of his situation. He had too much penetration to lose it from the circumvention of military manœuvres, and too much tem-

1777. per to be provoked to a dereliction of it. He was well apprized it was not the interest of his country, to commit

Sir William Howe fuddenly relinquished his position

its fortune to a fingle action.

in front of the Americans, and retired with his whole force to Amboy. The apparently retreating British, were pursued by a confiderable detachment of the American army, and general Washington advanced from Middlebrook to Quibbletown, to be near at hand for the fupport of his advanced parties. The British general immediately marched his army back from Amboy, with great expedition, hoping to bring on a general action on equal ground, but he was disappointed. General Washington fell back, and posted his army in such an advantageous polition, as compensated for the inferiority of his numbers. Sir William Howe was now fully convinced of the impossibility of compelling a general engagement on equal terms, and also satisfied that it would be too hazardous to attempt passing the Delaware, while the country was in arms, and the main American army in full force in his rear. He therefore returned to Amboy, and thence passed over to Staten-Island, resolving to profecute the objects of the campaign by another route. During the period of these movements, the real designs of general Howe were involved in great obscurity. Though the season for military operations was advanced as far as the month of July, yet his determinate object could not be afcertained. Nothing on his part had hitherto taken place, but alternately advancing and retreating. General Washington's embarrassment on this account, was increased by intelligence which arrived, that Burgoyne was coming in great force towards New-York, from Canada. hending that Sir William Howe would ultimately move up the North-River, and that his movements, which looked fouthwardly were calculated to deceive, the American general, detached a brigade to reinforce the northern division of his army. Successive advices of the advance of Burgoyne, favoured the idea, that a junction of the two royal armies, near Albany, was intended. Some

movements were therefore made by general Washington,

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June 24.

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towards Peek's-kill, and on the other fide towards Tren- 1777. ton, while the main army was encamped near the Clove, in readiness to march either to the north or fouth, as the movements of Sir William Howe might require. At length, the main body of the royal army, confisting of thirty-fix British and Hessian battalions, with a regiment of light horse, and a loyal provincial corps, called the Queen's rangers, and a powerful artillery, amounting in the whole to about 16,000 men, departed from Sandyhook, and were reported to steer southwardly. About the time of this embarkation, a letter from Sir William Howe to general Burgoyne was intercepted. This contained intelligence, that the British troops were destined to New-Hampshire. The intended deception was so superficially veiled, that in conjunction with the intelligence of the British embarkation, it produced a contrary effect. Within one hour after the reception of this intercepted letter, general Washington gave orders to his army to move to the fouthward, but he was nevertheless so much impressed with a conviction, that it was the true interest of Howe to move towards Burgoyne, that he ordered the American army to halt for some time, at the river Delaware, suspecting that the apparent movement of the royal army to the fouthward, was a feint calculated to draw him farther from the North-river. The British fleet having failed from Sandy-hook, were a week at fea, before they reached cape Henlopen. At this time and place, for reasons that do not obviously occur, general Howe gave up the idea of approaching Philadelphia, by ascending the Delaware, and resolved on a circuitous route by the way of the Chefapeak. Perhaps he counted, on being joined by large reinforcements from the numerous tories in Maryland or Delaware, or perhaps he feared the obstructions which the Pennsylvanians had planted in the Dela-If these were his reasons, he was mistaken in both. From the tories he received no advantage, and from the obstructions in the river, his ships could have received no detriment, if he had landed his troops at New-Castle, which was 14 miles nearer Philadelphia than the head of Chesapeak bay.

The British fleet, after they had left the capes of the

Delaware, had a tedious and uncomfortable passage, being twenty days before they entered the capes of Virginia. They ascended the bay, with a favourable wind, Aug. 25. and landed at Turkey-point. The circumstance of the British fleet putting out to sea, after they had looked into the Delaware, added to the apprehension before entertained, that the whole was a feint calculated to draw the American army farther from the North-river, fo as to prevent their being at hand to oppose a junction between Howe and Burgoyne. Washington therefore, fell back to fuch a middle station, as would enable him, either speedily to return to the North-river, or advance to the relief of Philadelphia. The British fleet, after leaving the capes of Delaware, were not heard of for near three weeks, except that they had once or twice been feen near the coast steering fouthwardly. A council of officers convened at Neshaminy, near Philadelphia, unanimoully gave it as their opinion, that Charlestown, in South-Carolina, was most probably their object, and that it would be impossible for the army to march in feason for its relief. It was therefore concluded to try, to repair the lofs of Charleston, which was confidered as unavoidable, either by attempting fomething on New-York island, or by uniting with the northern army, to give more effectual opposition to Burgoyne. A fmall change of pontion, conformably to this new fystem, took place. The day before the above resolution was adopted, the British fleet entered the Chefapeak. Intelligence thereof, in a few days, reached the American army, and dispelled that mist of uncertainty, in which general Howe's movements had been heretofore enveloped. The American troops were put in motion to meet the British army. Their numbers on paper amounted to 14,000, but their real effective force on which dependence might be placed in the day of battle, did not much exceed 8000 men. Every appearance of confidence was assumed by them as they passed through Philadelphia, that the citizens might be intimidated from joining the British. About the same time a number of the principal inhabitants of that city, being

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being suspected of disaffection to the American cause, 1777. were taken into custody, and sent to Virginia.

Soon after Sir William Howe had landed his troops in Maryland, he put forth a declaration, in which he informed the inhabitants, that he had iffued the strictest orders to the troops "for the preservation of regularity and good discipline, and that the most exemplary punishment should be insticted upon those who should dare to plunder the property, or molest the persons of any of his majesty's well-disposed subjects." It seemed as though fully apprized of the consequences, which had resulted from the indiscriminate plunderings of his army in New-Jersey, he was determined to adopt a more politic line of conduct. Whatever his lordship's intentions might be, they were by no means seconded by his troops.

The royal army fet out from the eastern heads of the Sept. 3.

Chefapeak, with a spirit which promised to compensate for the various delays, which had hitherto wasted the campaign. Their tents and baggage were left behind, and they trusted their future accommodation to fuch quarters as their arms might procure. They advanced with boldness, till they were within two miles of the American army, which was then posted near New-port. General Washington soon changed his position, and took post on the high ground near Chadd's Fort, on the Brandywine creek, with an intention of disputing the passage. It was the wish, but by no means the interest of the Americans, to try their strength in an engagement. regular troops were not only greatly inferior in discipline, but in numbers, to the royal army. The opinion of the inhabitants, though founded on no circumstances more fubstantial than their wishes, imposed a species of necesfity on the American general to keep his army in front of the enemy, and to risque an action for the security of Philadelphia. Instead of this, had he taken the ridge of high mountains on his right, the British must have respected his numbers, and probably would have followed him up the country. In this manner the campaign might have been wasted away in a manner fatal to the invaders, but the bulk of the American people were so impatient

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of delays, and had fuch an overweening conceit of the numbers and prowefs of their army, that they could not comprehend the wildom and policy of manœuvres to shun a general engagement.

On this occasion necessity dictated, that a facrifice should be made on the altar of public opinion. A ge-Sep. 11. neral action was therefore hazarded. This took place at Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine, a small stream which empties itself into Christiana creek, near its conflux with the river Delaware.

> The royal army advanced at day break in two columns, commanded by lieutenant general Kniphaufen, and by lord Cornwallis. The first took the direct road to Chadd's Ford, and made a shew of passing it, in front of the main body of the Americans. At the fame time the other column moved up on the west side of the Brandywine to its fork, and croffed both its branches about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and then marched down on the east fide thereof, with the view of turning the right wing of their adversaries.

> This they effected and compelled them to retreat with great lofs. General Kniphausen amused the Americans with the appearance of croffing the ford, but did not attempt it until lord Cornwallis having croffed above, and moved down on the opposite side, had commenced his attack. Kniphausen then crossed the ford, and attacked the troops posted for its defence. These, after a severe conflict, were compelled to give way. The retreat of the Americans foon became general, and was continued to Chester, under cover of general Weeden's brigade, which came off in good order. The final iffue of battles often depends on small circumstances, which human prudence cannot control--- one of these occurred here, and prevented general Washington from executing a bold design, to effect which, his troops were actually in motion. This was to have croffed the Brandywine, and attacked Kniphausen, while general Sullivan and lord Stirling, should keep earl Cornwallis in check. In the most critical moment, general Washington received intelligence which he was obliged to credit, that the column of lord Corn-

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nllis wallis had been only making a feint, and was returning 1777. to join Kniphausen. This prevented the execution of a plan, which, if carried into effect, would probably have given a different turn to the events of the day. The killed and wounded in the royal army, were near fix hundred. The loss of the Americans was twice that number. In the lift of their wounded, were two of their general officers .-- The marquis de la Fayette, and general Woodford. The former was a French nobleman of high rank, who, animated with the love of liberty, had left his native country, and offered his fervice to Congress. While in France, and only nineteen years of age, he espoused the cause of the Americans, with the most disinterested and generous ardour. Having determined to join them, he communicated his intentions to the American commissioners, at Paris. They justly conceived, that a patron of fo much importance would be of service to their cause, and encouraged his defign. Before he had embarked from France, intelligence arrived in Europe, that the American infurgents, reduced to 2000 men, were fleeing through Jersey before a British force of 30,000. Under these circumstances, the American commissioners at Paris thought it but honest to diffuade him from the prefent profecution of his perilous enterprise. It was in vain that they acted so candid a part. His zeal to serve a distressed country, was not abated by her misfortunes. Having embarked in a veffel, which he purchased for the purpose, he arrived in Charleston, early in 1777, and foon after joined the American army. Congress resolved, that " in confideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connexions, he should have the rank of major general in their army." Independent of the rifque he ran as an American officer, he hazarded his large fortune in confequence of the laws of France, and also the confinement of his person, in case of capture, when on his way to the United States, without the chance of being acknowledged by any nation; for his court had forbidden his proceeding to America, and had dispatched orders to have him confined in the West-Indies, if found in that quarter. This gallant nobleman, who under all these disadvantages

had demonstrated his good will to the United States, received a wound in his leg, at the battle of Brandywine, but he nevertheless continued in the field, and exerted himself both by word and example in rallying the Americans. Other foreigners of distinction also shared in the engagement. Count Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, the fame who a few years before had carried off king Stanistaus from his capital, though furrounded with a numerous body of guards, and a Russian army, fought with the Americans at Brandywine. He was a thunderbolt of war, and always fought for the post of danger as the

> appointed him commander of horse, with the rank of brigadier. Monfieur du Coudray, a French officer of high rank, and great abilities, while on his way from Philadelphia to join the American army, about this time was

> post of honour. Soon after this engagement Congress

drowned in the river Schuylkill. He rode into the flatbottomed boat on a spirited mare, whose career he was not able to stop, and she went out at the farther end in-

to the river, with her rider on her back.

The evening after the battle of Brandywine, a party of the British went to Wilmington, and took president M'Kinley prisoner. They also took possession of a shallop, loaded with the most valuable effects of the inhabitants.

Howe perfevered in his scheme of gaining the right

flank of the Americans. This was no less steadily purfued on the one fide, than avoided on the other. Washington came forward in a few days with a refolution of rifquing another action. He accordingly advanced as far as the Warren tavern on the Lancaster road. Near that place both armies were on the point of engaging with their whole force, but were prevented by a most violent Sep. 18, storm of rain, which continued for a whole day and night. When the rain ceased, the Americans found that their ammunition was entirely ruined. They therefore withdrew to a place of fafety. Before a proper fupply was procured, the British marched from their position near the White Horse tavern, down towards the Swedes Ford. The Americans again took post in their front; but the British, instead of urging an action, began to march

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a to arch march up towards Reading. To fave the stores which 1777. had been deposited in that place, Washington took a new position, and left the British in undisturbed possession of the roads which lead to Philadelphia. His troops were worn down with a fuccession of severe duties. There were in his army above a thousand men who were barefooted, and who had performed all their late movements in that condition. About this time the Americans sustained a confiderable loss by a night attack, conducted by general Grey on a detachment of their troops, which was encamped near the Paoli tavern. The outposts and pickets were forced without noise, about one o'clock in the morning. The men had fcarcely time to turn out, and when they turned out they unfortunately paraded in the light of their fires. This directed the British how, and where to proceed. They rushed in upon them and put about 200 to death in a filent manner by a free and exclusive use of the bayonet. The enterprise was conducted with fo much address, that the loss of the affailants did not exceed eight.

Congress, which after a short residence at Baltimore had returned to Philadelphia, were obliged a fecond time to confult their fafety by flight. They retired at first to Lancaster, and afterwards to Yorktown.

The bulk of the British army being left in Germantown, Sir William Howe, with a small part, made his triumphal entry into Philadelphia, and was received with the hearty welcome of numerous citizens, who either from con- Sep. 25, science, cowardice, interest, or principle, had hitherto separated themselves from the class of active whigs.

The possession of the largest city in the United States, together with the dispersion of that grand council which had heretofore conducted their public affairs, were reckoned by the short fighted as decisive of their fate. submission of countries, after the conquest of their capital, had often been a thing of course, but in the great contest for the fovereignty of the United States the question did not rest with a ruler, or a body of rulers, nor was it to be determined by the possession or loss of any particular place. It was the public mind, the fentiments and opin-

1777.

ions of the yeomanry of the country which were to decide. Though Philadelphia had become the refidence of the British army, yet as long as the bulk of the people of the United States were opposed to their government, the country was unsubdued. Indeed it was presumed by the more discerning politicians, that the luxuries of a great city would so far enervate the British troops as to indispose them for those active exertions to which they were prompted, while inconveniently encamped in the open country.

To take off the impression the British successes, might make in France to the prejudice of America, Doctor Franklin gave them an ingenious turn, by observing, "that instead of saying Sir William Howe had taken Philadelphia, it would be more proper to say, Philadelphia

phia had taken Sir William Howe."

One of the first objects of the British, after they had got possession, was to erect batteries to command the river, and to protect the city from any infult by water. The British shipping were prevented from ascending the Delaware, by obstructions hereafter to be described, which were fixed near Mud-Island. Philadelphia, though poffessed by the British army, was exposed to danger from the American vessels in the river. The American frigate Delaware, of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfinished batteries, and being seconded by some smaller vessels, commenced a heavy cannonade upon the batteries and town, but upon the falling of the tide she ran aground. Being brifkly fired upon from the town, while in this condition the was foon compelled to furrender. The other American vessels, not able to resist the fire from the batteries after losing one of their number, re-

General Washington, having been reinforced by 2500 men from Pecks-kill and Virginia; and having been informed, that general Howe had detached a considerable part of his force, for reducing the forts on the Delaware, conceived a design of attacking the British post at Germantown. Their line of encampment, crossed the town at right angles near its centre. The left wing extended

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ing led extended to the Schuylkill, and was covered in front by the mounted and difmounted chaffeurs. The queen's American rangers and a battalion of light infantry were in front of the right. The 40th regiment with another battalion of light infantry were posted on the Chesnuthill road, three quarters of a mile in advance. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia, with four battalions of grenadiers. A few of the general officers of the American army, whose advice was requested on the occasion unanimously recommended an attack; and it was agreed that it should be made in different places, to produce the greater confusion, and to prevent the several parts of the British forces, from affording support to each other. From an apprehension, that the Americans from the want of dicipline would not persevere in a long attack, it was refolved that it should be sudden and vigorous, and if unsuccessful to make an expeditious retreat. The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by the way of Chefnut-hill, while general Armstrong with the Pennsylvania militia should fall down the Manatawny road, and gain the left and rear of the British. The divisions of Greene and Stephen's flanked by M'Dougal's brigade were to enter by the lime kiln road. The militia of Maryland and Jersey under generals Smallwood and Furman, were to march by the old York road, and to fall upon the rear of their right.

Lord Stirling with Nashe's and Maxwell's brigade were Oct. 4. to form a corps de reserve. The Americans began their attack about sunrise on the 40th regiment, and a battalion of light infantry. These two corps being obliged to retreat, were pursued into the village. On their retreat lieutenant colonel Musgrove with six companies took post in Mr. Chew's strong stone house, which lay in front of the Americans. From an adherence to the military maxim of never leaving a fort possessed by an enemy in the rear, it was resolved to attack the party in the house.

In the mean time general Greene got up with his column and attacked the right wing. Colonel Mathews routed a party of the British opposed to him, killed se-

veral,

veral, and took I to prisoners, but from the darkness of the day lost fight of the brigade to which he belonged, and having separated from it, was taken prisoner with his whole regiment, and the prisoners which he had previously taken, were released. A number of the troops in Greene's division, were stopped by the halt of the party before Chew's house. Near one half of the American army remained for some time at that place inactive. In the mean time general Grey led on three battalions of the third brigade, and attacked with vigour. A sharp contest sollowed. Two British regiments attacked at the same time on the opposite side of the town. General Grant moved up the 49th regiment to the aid of those who were engaged with Greene's column.

The morning was extremely foggy .--- This, by concealing the true fituation of the parties occasioned mistakes. and made so much caution necessary as to give the British time to recover from the effects of their first surprize. From these causes the early promiting appearances on the part of the affailants were speedily reversed. The Americans left the field haftily, and all efforts to rally them were ineffectual. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a party of light horse, and joined in the pursuit. This was continued for fome miles .--- The lofs of the royal army, including the wounded and prisoners, was about 500. Among their flain were brigadier general Agnew, and lieutenant colonel Bird. The loss of the Americans, including 400 prisoners, was about 1000. Among their flain were general Nash and his aid de camp major Witherspoon.

Soon after this battle the British left Germantown, and turned their principal attention towards opening a free communication between their army and their ship-

ping.

Much industry and ingenuity had been exerted for the fecurity of Philadelphia on the water side. Thirteen gallies, two floating batteries, two zebeques, one brig, one ship, besides a number of armed boats, fire ships and rasts, were constructed or employed for this purpose. The Americans had also built a fort on Mud-Island, to which they

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they gave the name of fort Mifflin, and erected thereon a 1777. confiderable battery. This island is admirably situated for the erection of works to annoy shipping on their way up the Delaware. It lies near the middle of the river, about 7 miles below Philadelphia. No vessels of burden can come up but by the main ship channel, which passes close to Mud-Island, and is very narrow for more than a mile below. Opposite to fort Mifflin there is a height, called Red-Bank. This overlooks not only the river, but the neighbouring country. On this eminence, a respectable battery was erected. Between these two fortreffes, which are half a mile diftant from each other, the American naval armament for the defence of the river Delaware, made their harbour of retreat. Two ranges of chevaux de frise were also sunk into the channel. These consisted of large pieces of timber, strongly framed together, in the manner usual for making the foundation of wharfs in deep water. Several large points of bearded iron projecting down the river were annexed to the upper parts of these chevaux de frise, and the whole was funk with stones, so as to be about four feet under the water at low tide. Their prodigious weight and strength could not fail to effect the destruction of any vessel which came upon them. Thirty of these machines were funk about 300 yards below fort Mifflin, so as to stretch in a diagonal line across the channel. The only open passage left was between two piers lying close to the fort, and that was fecured by a strong boom, and could not be approached but in a direct line to the battery. Another fortification was erected on a high bank on the Jersey shore, called Billingsport. And opposite to this, another range of chevaux de frise was deposited, leaving only a narrow and shoal channel on the one side. There was also a temporary battery of two heavy cannon, at the mouth of Mantua creek, about half way from Red-Bank to Billingsport. The British were well apprized, that without the command of the Delaware, their possession of Philadelphia would be of no advantage. They therefore strained every nerve, to open the navigation of that river, --- to this end lord Howe had early taken the most effectual measures Vol. II.

for conducting the fleet and transports round from the Chesapeak to the Delaware, and drew them up on the Pennsylvania shore, from Reedy-Island to New-Castle. Early in October, a detachment from the British army croffed the Delaware, with a view of dillodging the A. mericans from Billingsport. On their approach, the place was evacuated. As the feafon advanced, more vigorous measures for removing the obstructions were concerted between the general and the admiral. Batteries were erected on the Pennsylvania shore to affist in dislodging the Americans from Mud-Island. At the same time Count Donop with 2000 men, having croffed into New-Jersey, opposite to Philadelphia, marched down on the eaftern fide of the Delaware, to attack the redoubt at Red-Bank. This was defended by about 400 men under the command of colonel Greene. The attack immediately commenced by a fmart cannonade, under cover of which the Count advanced to the redoubt. This place was intended for a much larger garrison than was then in it. It had therefore become necessary to run a line in the middle thereof, and one part of it was evacuated. That part was eafily carried by the affailants, on which they indulged in loud huzzas for their supposed victory. The garrison kept up a severe well directed fire on the affailants by which they were compelled to retire. They fuffered not only in the affault, but in the approach to, and retreat from the fort. Their whole loss in killed and wounded was about 400. Count Donop was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Congress resolved, to prefent colonel Greene with a fword for his good conduct on this occasion. An attack made about the fame time on fort Mifflin by men of war and frigates, was not more fuccessful than the affault on Red-Bank. The Augusta man of war of 64 guns, and the Merlin, two of the veffels which were engaged in it, got aground. The former was fired and blew up. The latter was evacuated.

Though the first attempts of the British, for opening the navigation of the Delaware, were unsuccessful, they carried their point in another way that was unexpected. The chevaux de frise, having been sunk some consider-

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able time, the current of the water was diverted by this great bulk into new channels. In confequence thereof the passage between the islands and the Pennsylvania shore was fo deepened as to admit vessels of some considerable draught of water. Through this passage, the Vigilant, a large ship, cut down fo as to draw but little water, mounted with 24 pounders, made her way to a position. from which the might enfilade the works on Mud-Island. This gave the British such an advantage, that the post was no longer tenable. Colonel Smith, who had with great gallantry defended the fort from the latter end of September, to the 11th of November, being wounded, was removed to the main. Within five days after his removal, major Thayer, who as a volunteer had nobly offered to take charge of this dangerous post, was obliged to evacuate it man a life I amon

This event did not take place till the works were entirely beat down---every piece of cannon dismounted, and one of the British ships so near that she threw granadoes into the fort, and killed the men uncovered in the platform. The troops who had so bravely defended fort Mifflin, made a safe retreat to Red-Bank. Congress voted fwords to be given to lieutenant colonel Smith and commodore Hazlewood, for their gallant defence of the Delaware. Within three days after Mud-Island was evacuated, the garrison was also withdrawn from Red-Bank, on the approach of lord Cornwallis, at the head of a large force prepared to affault it. Some of the American gallies and armed veffels escaped by keeping close in with the Jersey shore, to places of security above Philadelphia, but 17 of them were abandoned by their crews, and fired. Thus the British gained a free communication between their army and shipping. This event was to them very defirable. They had been previously obliged to draw their provisions from Chester, a distance of sixteen miles, at some risque, and a certain great expence. The long protracted defence of the Delaware, deranged the plans of the British, for the remainder of the campaign, and consequently faved the adjacent country.

About this time the chair of Congress became vacant,

by the departure of Mr. Hancock, after he had discharged

the duties of that office to great acceptance, two years and five months. Henry Laurens, of South-Carolina, was unanimously elected his successor. He had been in England for fome years, antecedent to the hoffile determinations of parliament against the colonies, but finding the dispute growing ferious, he conceived that honour and duty called him to take part with his native country. He had been warmly folicited to flay in England, and offers were made him not only to fecure, but to double his American estate, in case of his continuing to reside there, --- but thele were refused. To a particular friend in London, diffuading him from coming out to America, he replied on the 9th of Nov. 1774, when at Falmouth, on the point of embarking, "I shall never forget your " friendly attention to my interest, but I dare not return. "Your ministers are deaf to information, and feem bent on provoking unnecessary contest. I think I have acted " the part of a faithful subject, I now go resolved still to

" labour for peace; at the same time determined in the

last event to stand or fall with my country."

Immediately on his arrival in Charleston, he was elected a member, and foon after the president of the provincial congress, --- the president of the council of fafety--- the vice-prefident of the frate, --- and a member of congress.

While Sir William Howe was fucceeding in every enterprize in Pennsylvania intelligence arrived, as shall be related in the next chapter, that general Burgoyne and his whole army had furrendered prisoners of war to the Americans.

General Washington soon after received a confiderable reinforcement from the northern army, which had With this increased force accomplished this great event. he took a position at and near Whitemarsh. The royal army having fucceeded in removing the obstructions in 4. the river Delaware, were ready for new enterprizes. Sir William Howe, marched out of Philadelphia with almost his whole force, expecting to bring on a general engagement. The next morning he appeared on Chefnut-hill in front of, and about three miles diffant from the

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the right wing of the Americans. On the day follow- 1777. ing the British changed their ground, and moved to the right: Two days after they moved still farther to the right, and made every appearance of an intention to attack the American encampment. Some skirmifhes took place, ard a general action was hourly expected: but instead never on the morning of the next day, after various marches and countermarches, the British filed off from Dec. 9. their right, by two or three different routes, in full march for Philadelphia.

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The position of general Washington in a military point of view was admirable. He was fo fenfible of the advantages of it, that the manœuvres of Sir William Howe for fome days, could not allure him from it. In confequence of the reinforcement lately received, he had not in any preceding period of the campaign been in an equal condition for a general engagement. Though he ardently wished to be attacked, yet he would not relinquish a position, from which he hoped for reparation for the advertices of the campaign. He could not believe that general Howe with a victorious army, and that lately reinforced with four thousand men from New-York, should come out of Philadelphia only to return thither again. He therefore prefumed that to avoid the difgrace. of such a movement, the British commander would, from a fente of military honour, be compelled to attack him, though under great disadvantages. When he found him cautious of engaging and inclining to his left, a daring defign was formed which would have been executed, had the British either continued in their position, or moved a little farther to the left of the American army. This was to have attempted in the night to furprise Philadelphia. The necessary preparations for this purpose were made, but the retreat of the British prevented its execution. Soon after these events general Smallwood with a confiderable force, was posted at Wilmington on the banks of the Delaware, and general Washington, with the main army retired to winter quarters at Valley Forge, 16 miles distant from Philadelphia. This position was preferred to distant and more comfortable villages, as being calculated

1777. calculated to give the most extensive security to the country adjacent to Philadelphia. The American army might have been tracked, by the blood of their feet, in marching without shoes or stockings over the hard frozen ground, between Whitemarsh and Valley Forge. Some hundreds of them were without blankets. Under these circumstances they had to sit down in a wood, in the latter end of December, and to build huts for their accommodation. This mode of procuring winter quarters, if not entirely novel, has been rarely if ever practifed in modern war. The cheerfulness with which the general and his army submitted to spend a severe winter, in such circumstances, rather than leave the country exposed, by retiring farther, demonstrated as well their patriotism as their fixed refolution to fuffer every inconvenience, in preference to submission. Thus ended the campaign of 1777. Though Sir William Howe's army had been crowned with the most brilliant success, having gained two considerable victories, and been equally triumphant in many fmaller actions, yet the whole amount of this ride of good fortune was no more than a good winter lodging for his troops in Philadelphia, whilst the men under his command possessed no more of the adjacent country than, what they immediately commanded with their arms. The Congress, it is true, was compelled to leave the first feat of their deliberations, and the greatest city in the United States changed a number of its whig inhabitants for a numerous royal army; but it is as true that the minds of the Americans were, if possible, more hostile to the claims. of Great-Britain than ever, and their army had gained as much by discipline and experience, as compensated for its diminution by defeats. I and at hangmans aved or saw

The events of this campaign were adverse to the sanguine hopes which had been entertained of a speedy conquest of the revolted colonies. Repeated proofs had been given, that, though general Washington was very forward to engage when he thought it to his advantage, yet it was impossible for the royal commander to bring him to action against his consent. By this mode of conducting the defence of the new formed states, two campaigns

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Ap account of fome miscellaneous transactions will close this chapter. Lieutenant colonel Barton, of a militia regiment of the state of Rhode-Island, accompanied by about forty volunteers, passed by night from Warwick neck July 9. to Rhode-Island, and furprised general Prescot in his quarters, and brought him and one of his aids fafe off to the continent. Though they had a passage of ten miles by water, they eluded the ships of war and guard boats, which lay all round the island. The enterprize was conducted with fo much filence and address, that there was no alarm among the British till the colonel and his party had nearly reached the continent with their prize. Congress soon after resolved, that an elegant fword should be prefented to lieutenant colonel Barton, as a testimonial of their sense of his gallant behaviour.

It has already been mentioned, that Congress in the latter end of November 1775, authorised the capture of veffels, laden with stores or reinforcements for their enemies. On the 23d of March 1776, they extended this permission so far as to authorise their inhabitants to sit out armed veffels to cruife on the enemies of the united colonies. The Americans henceforth devoted themselves to privateering, and were very fuccessful. In the course of the year they made many valuable captures, particularly of homeward bound West-India men. The particulars cannot be enumerated, but good judges have calculated, that within nine months after Congress authorised privateering, the British loss in captures, exclusive of transports and government store ships, exceeded a million sterling. They found no difficulty in felling their prizes. The ports of France were open to them, both in Europe and in the West-Indies. In the latter they were fold without any difguife, but in the former a greater regard was paid to appearances. Open fales were not permitted in the harbours of France at particular times, but even then they were made at the entrance or offing.

In the French West-India islands the inhabitants not only purchased prizes, brought in by American cruisers,

1777. but fitted out privateers under American colours and commissions, and made captures of British vessels. William Bingham, of Philadelphia, was stationed as the agent of Congress, at Martinico, and he took an early and active part in arming privateers in St. Pierre, to annoy and cruife against British property. The favourable disposition of the inhabitants furnished him with an opportunity, which he fuccessfully improved, not only to diffress the British commerce, but to fow the feeds of difcord between the French and English. The American privateers also found countenance in some of the ports of Spain, but not so readily nor so universally as in those of France. The British took many of the American veffels, but they were often of inferior value. Such of them as were laden with provisions, proved a seasonable relief to their West-India islands, which otherwise would have suffered from the want of those supplies, which before the war had been usually procured from the neighbouring continent.

> The American privateers in the year 1777, increased in numbers and boldness. They insulted the coasts of Great-Britain and Ireland, in a manner that had never before been attempted. Such was their spirit of adventure, that it became necessary to appoint a convoy for the protection of the linen thips from Dublin and Newry. The general Mifflin privateer, after making repeated captures, arrived at Brest, and saluted the French admiral. This was returned in form as to the veffel of an independent power. Lord Stormont, the British ambassador, at the court of Versailles, irritated at the countenance given to the Americans, threatened to return immediately to London, unless satisfaction was given, and different meafures were adopted by France. An order was iffued in consequence of his application, requiring all American veffels to leave the ports of His Most Christian Majesty, but though the order was positive, so many evasions were practifed, and the execution of it was fo relaxed, that it produced no permanent discouragement of the beneficial intercourse.

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The Northern Campaign of 1777.

O effect a free communication between New-York and Canada, and to maintain the navigation of the intermediate lakes, was a principal object with the British, for the campaign of 1777. The Americans presuming on this, had been early attentive to their fecurity, in that quarter. They had refolved to construct a fort on Mount Independence, which is an eminence adjoining the strait on which Ticonderoga stands, and nearly opposite to that fortress. They had also resolved to obstruct the navigation of the strait by cassoons, to be sunk in the water, and joined to as to ferve at the fame time for a bridge between the fortifications on the east and west side of it; --- and that to prevent the British from drawing their small craft over land into lake George, the passage of that lake should be obstructed, --- that Fort Schuyler, the same which had formerly been called Fort Stanwix, should be strengthened, and other fortifications erected near the Mohawk river. Requisitions were made by the commanding officer in the department for 13,600 men, as necessary for the security of this diffrict .--- The adjacent states were urged to fill up their recruits, and in all respects to be in readiness for an active campaign.

The British ministry were very sanguine in their hopes, from the consequences of forming a line of communication between New-York and Canada. They considered the New England people to be the soul of the consederacy, and promised themselves much by severing them from all free communication with the neighbouring states. They hoped, when this was accomplished, to be able to surround them so effectually with sleets and armies, and Indian alies, as to compel their submission. Animated with these expectations they left nothing undone, which bid fair for ensuring the success of the plans they had formed for this purpose.

The regular troops, British and German, allotted to this service, were upwards of 7000. As artillery is considered to be particularly useful in an American war, Vol. II.

where numerous inhabitants are to be driven out of woods and fastnesses, this part of the service was particularly attended to. The brass train that was fent out, was perhaps the finest, and the most excellently supplied, both as to officers and men, that had ever been allotted to fecond the operations of an equal force. In addition to the regulars, it was supposed that the Canadians and the loyalifts, in the neighbouring states, would add large reinforcements, well calculated for the peculiar nature of the fervice. Arms and accourrements were accordingly provided to supply them. Several nations of savages had also been induced to take up the hatchet, as allies to his Britannic majesty. Not only the humanity, but the policy of employing them, was questioned in Great-Britain. The oppofers of it contended that Indians were capricious, inconstant and intractable, their rapacity infatiate, and their actions cruel and barbarous. At the same time their fervices were reprefented to be uncertain, and that no dependence could be placed on their most solemn engagements. On the other hand, the zeal of British minifters for reducing the revolted colonies, was fo violent as to make them, in their excessive wrath, forget that their adversaries were men. They contended, that in their circumstances every appearance of lenity, by inciting to disobedience, and thereby increasing the objects of punish ment, was eventual cruelty. In their opinion partial fe verity was general mercy, and the only method of speed ily crushing the rebellion, was to invelope its abettor in fuch complicated diffress, as by rendering their fituation intolerable, would make them willing to accept the prof fered bleffings of peace and fecurity. The fentiments of those who were for employing Indians against the Ame ricans, prevailed. Prefents were liberally distribute among them. Induced by thefe, and also by their innat thirst for war and plunder, they poured forth their was riors in fuch abundance, that their numbers threatene to be an incumberance.

The vast force destined for this service was put unde the command of lieutenant general Burgoyne, an office whose abilities were well known, and whose spirit of enter

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prize and thirst for military fame could not be exceeded. He was supported by major general Philips of the artillery, who had established a solid reputation by his good conduct during the late war in Germany, and by major general Reidesel, and brigadier general Speecht of the German troops, together with the British generals Frazer, Powell and Hamilton, all officers of distinguished merit.

The British had also undisputed possession of the navigation of Lake Champlain. Their marine force thereon, with which in the preceding campaign they had destroyed the American shipping on the lakes, was not only entire, but unopposed.

A confiderable force was left in Canada for its internal security, and Sir Guy Carleton's military command was restricted to the limits of that province. Though the British ministry attributed the preservation of Canada to his abilities in 1775 and 1776, yet by their arrangements for the year 1777, he was only called upon to act a secondary part, in subserviency to the grand expedition committed to general Burgoyne. His behaviour on this occasion, was conformable to the greatness of his mind. Instead of thwarting or retarding a service which was virtually taken out of his hands, he applied himself to support and forward it in all its parts, with the same diligence as if the arrangement had been entirely his own, and committed to himself for execution.

The plan of the British for their projected irruption into the northwestern frontier of New-York, consisted of two parts. General Burgoyne with the main body, was to advance by the way of Lake Champlain, with positive orders, as has been said, to force his way to Albany, or at least so far as to effect a junction with the royal army from New-York. A detachment was to ascend the river St. Lawrence, as far as Lake Ontario, and from that quarter to penetrate towards Albany, by the way of the Mohawk river. This was put under the command of lieutenant colonel St. Leger, and consisted of about 200 British troops, a regiment of New-York loyalists raised and commanded by Sir John Johnson, and a large body of savages. Lieutenant general Burgoyne arrived in Quebec

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on the 6th of May, and exerted all diligence to profecute

in due time the objects of the expedition, He proceeded up Lake Champlain and landed near Crown-Point. At 21. this place he met the Indians -- gave them a war feast, and made a speech to them. This was well calculated to excite them to take part with the royal army, but at the fame time to repress their barbarity. He pointedly forbad them to shed blood when not opposed in arms, and commanded that aged men, women, children, and prisoners, should be held facred from the knife and the hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict. A reward was promifed for prisoners, and a severe enquiry threatened for scalps, though permission was granted to take them from those who were previously killed in fair opposition. These restrictions were not sufficient, as will appear in the fequel, to restrain their barbarities. The Indians having decidedly taken part with the British army, general Burgoyne issued a proclamation, calculated to fpread terror among the inhabitants. The numbers of his Indian affociates were magnified, and their eagerness to be let loose to their prey described in high sounding words. The force of the British armies and fleets prepared to crush every part of the revolted colonies, was also displayed in pompous language. Encouragement and employment were promifed to those who should affist in the re-establishment of legal government, and fecurity held out to the peaceable and induftrious, who continued in their habitations. All the calamities of war arrayed in their most terrific forms, were denounced against those who should persevere in a military opposition to the royal forces.

June 30.

General Burgoyne advanced with his army in a few days to Crown-Point. At this place he issued orders of which the following words are a part: "The army embarks to-morrow to approach the enemy. The fervices required on this expedition are critical and conspicuous During our progress occasions may occur, in which, nor difficulty, nor labour, nor life, are to be regarded. This army must not retreat." From Crown-Point the royal army proceeded to invest Ticonderoga. On their approach to it, they advanced with equal caution and order

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1777.

on both fides of the lake, while their naval force kept in its center. Within a few days they had furrounded threetourths of the American works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and had also advanced a work on Sugar Hill which commands both, fo far towards completion, that in 24 hours it would have been ready to open. In these circumstances general St. Clair the commanding officer, refolved to evacuate the post at all events; but conceiving it prudent to take the fentiments of the general officers, he called a council of war on the occasion. It was represented to this council, that their whole numbers were not sufficient to man one half of the works, and that as the whole must be on constant duty, it would be impossible for them to sustain the necessary fatigue for any length of time, and that as the place would be completely invested on all sides within a day, nothing but an immediate evacuation of the posts could fave their troops. The fituation of general St. Clair was eminently embarraffing. Such was the confidence of the flates in the fancied strength of this post, and of the supposed superiority of force for its defence, that to retreat without rifquing an action could not fail of drawing on him the execuation of the multitude. To stand still, and by suffering himfelf to be furrounded to risque his whole army for a fingle post, was contrary to the true interest of the states. In this trying fituation, with the unanimous approbation of a council of his general officers, he adopted the heroic resolution of facrificing personal reputation to save his army. Te disco of none to deem rais, but eautiflor would be

The assumption of confident appearances by the garrison, had induced their adversaries to proceed with great
caution. While from this cause they were awed into respect, the evacuation was completed with so much secrecy
and expedition, that a considerable part of the public
stores was saved, and the whole would have been embarked, had not a violent gale of wind which sprung up
in the night, prevented the boats from reaching their station.

The works abandoned by the Americans, were as follow: The old French lines constructed in the late war between

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1777

between France and England, which looked towards general Burgoyne's encampment had been repaired the year before, and were in good order. About the center was a battery of fix guns. These occupied about two-thirds of the high ground from the strait to the old fort. The remaining third was open, but fome fleches were thrown up for its fecurity. The old fort was in ruins, but some guns were mounted on a ravelin thereof, that looked towards the lake. There was also a battery of four guns in the French lines, which had the same aspect. On the point above the bridge was a battery of four guns, and on Mount Independence another of fix or eight. The fort on that fide was nearly a mile from the battery, and was formed of piquets. The defence of it might have employed four hundred men, but it could not have refifted a fix pounder. There were no barracks within it, nor a drop of water, but at a confiderable distance. From the battery at the point, a line of entrenchment ran round the mount, upwards of a mile and a half in length. There had been a strong abbatis in front of this line the year before, but it had been confumed by fire, as was also that in front of the French lines. Towards the east of the mount was a block-house. Another was on the Ticonderoga fide. New works were begun on the mount, but there was neither time nor strength of hands to complete them. A great deal of timber had been felled between the east creek and the foot of the mount, to retard the approaches of the British. All the redoubts on the low ground were abandoned, for want of men to occupy them. These works, together with 93 pieces of ordnance, and a large collection of provisions, fell into the hands of the British. The same water standard to the Wa

July 6.

This evacuation of Ticonderoga was the subject of a severe scrutiny. Congress recalled their general officers in the northern department, and ordered an enquiry into their conduct. They also nominated two gentlemen of eminence in the law to affish the judge advocate in prosecuting that enquiry, and appointed a committee of their own body to collect evidence in support of the charges, which were on this occasion brought against them. Ge-

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neral St. Clair, from the necessity of the case, submitted 1777. to this innovation in the mode of conducting courts martial, but in behalf of the army protested against its being drawn into precedent. Charges of no less magniude than cowardice, incapacity and treachery, were brought forward in court against him, and believed by many. The public mind, fore with the loss of Ticonderoga, and apprehensive of general distress, sought to ease itself by throwing blame on the general. When the fituation of the army permitted an enquiry into his conduct, he was honourably acquitted. In the course of his trial it was made to appear, that though 13,600 men had been early called for as necessary to defend the northern posts, yet on the approach of general Burgoyne, the whole force collected to oppose him was only 2546 continentals, and 900 militia badly equipped, and worse armed. From the infufficiency of their numbers, they could not poffess themselves of Sugar-hill, nor of Mount-Hope, though the former commanded the works both of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and the latter was of great importance for fecuring the communication with Lake George, and had been fortified the year before with that view. To the question which had been repeatedly asked, "why was the evacuation, if really necessary, delayed, till the Americans were fo nearly furrounded, as to occasion the loss of fuch valuable stores? It was answered, that "from various circumstances it was impossible for general St. Clair to get early information of the numbers opposed to him. They made no debarkation till they came to Gilliland's creek, which is about 40 miles to the northward of Ticonderoga, and from this they speedily reimbarked. The favages which they kept in front, deterred fmall reconnoitring parties from approaching fo near as to make any discoveries of their numbers. Large parties from the nature of the ground, could not have been supported without risquing a general action, and that from the combined operation of these circumstances, the numbers of the approaching royal army were effectually concealed from the garrison, till the van of their force appeared in full view before it." The retreating army embarked as

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much of their baggage and stores as they had any profpect of faving on board batteaux, and dispatched them under convoy of five armed gallies to Skenesborough. Their main body took its route towards the same place by way of Castleton. The British were no sooner apprized of the retreat of the Americans than they purfued them. General Frazer, at the head of the light troops, advanced on their main body. Major general Reidefel was also ordered with the greater part of the Brunswic troops, to march in the fame direction. General Burgoyne in perfon conducted the pursuit by water. The obstructions to the navigation, not having been completed, were foon cut through. The two frigates --- the Royal George and the Inflexible, together with the gun boats, having effected their passage, pursued with so much rapidity, that in the course of a day the gun boats came up with and attacked the American gallies near Skenesborough falls. On the approach of the frigates all opposition ceased. Two of the gallies were taken and three blown up. The Americans fet fire to their works, mills and batteaux. They were now left in the woods, destitute of provisions. In this forlorn fituation they made their escape up Woodcreek to fort Anne. Brigadier Frazer pursued the retreating Americans --- came up with, and attacked their rear guard, at Hubbordton. In the courfe of the engagement he was joined by the German troops, commanded by general Reidefel. The Americans commanded by colonel Warner, made a gallant resistance, but after sustaining confiderable lofs, were obliged to give way. Lieut. colonel Hall, with the ninth British regiment, was detached from Skenesborough by general Burgoyne, to take post near fort Anne. An engagement ensued between this regiment and a few Americans, but the latter, after a conflict of two hours, fired the fort, and retreated to fort Edward. The destruction of the gallies and batteaux of the Americans at Skenesborough, and the defeat of their rear, obliged general St. Clair, in order to avoid being between two fires, to change the route of his main body, and to turn off from Castleton to the left. After a fatiguing and diffreshing march of seven days, he joined general

July 7.

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general Schuyler at fort Edward. Their combined forces, 4777. inclusive of the militia, not exceeding in the whole 4400 men, were not long after on the approach of general Burgovne, compelled to retire farther into the country, bordering on Albany. Such was the rapid torrent of fuccess, which in this period of the campaign swept away all oppofition from before the royal army. The officers and men were highly elated with their good fortune. They confidered their toils to be nearly at an end; Albany to be within their grafp, and the conquest of the adjacent provinces reduced to a certainty. In Great-Britain intelligence of the progress of Burgoyne diffused a general joy. As to the Americans, the loss of reputation which they fustained in the opinion of their European admirers, was greater than their loss of posts, artillery and troops. They were stigmatifed as wanting the resolution and abilities of men in the defence of their dearest rights. Their unqualified subjugation, or unconditional submission was confidered as being near at hand. An opinion was diffuled, that the war in effect was over, or that the farther refistance of the colonists would serve only to make the terms of their submission more humiliating. The terfor which the loss of Ticonderoga spread throughout the New-England states was great, but nevertheless no difpolition to purchase fafety by submission appeared in any quarter. They did not fink under the apprehensions of danger, but acted with vigour and firmness. The royal army, after these successes, continued for some days in Skenesborough, waiting for their tents, baggage and provision. In the mean time general Burgoyne put forth a proclamation, in which he called on the inhabitants of the adjacent towns to fend a deputation of ten or more persons from their respective townships, to meet colonel Skene at Castleton, on the 15th of July. The troops were at the same time busily employed in opening a road, andclearing a creek, to favour their advance, and to open a passage for the conveyance of their stores. A party of the royal army which had been left behind at Ticonderoga, was equally industrious in carrying gun boats, provision, vessels, and batteaux over land, into lake George. Vol. II.

1777. An immensity of labour in every quarter was necessary, but animated as they were with past successes and future hopes, they difregarded toil and danger.

> From Skenesborough general Burgovne directed his course across the country to Fort Edward, on Hudson's River. Though the distance in a right line from one to the other is but a few miles, yet fuch is the impracticable nature of the country, and fuch were the artificial difficulties thrown in his way, that nearly as many days were confumed as the distance passed over in a direct line would have measured in miles. The Americans under the direction of general Schuyler, had cut large trees on both fides of the road, fo as to fall across with their branches interwoven. The face of the country was likewife fo broken with creeks and marshes, that they had no less than forty bridges to construct, one of which was a logwork over a morafs, two miles in extent. This difficult march might have been avoided, had general Burgoyne fallen back from Skenesborough to Ticonderoga, and thence proceeded by lake George, but he declined this route, from an apprehension that a retrograde motion on his part would abate the panic of the enemy. He had also a suspicion that some delay might be occasioned by the American garrison at Fort George, as in case of his he c taking that route, they might fafely continue to refift to place the last extremity, having open in their rear a place of retreat. On the other hand it was prefumed, that as foon as they knew that the royal army was marching in a direction which was likely to cut off their retreat, they would confult their fafety by a feafonable evacuation. In addition to these reasons he had the advice and persuasion of colonel Skene. That gentleman had been recommended to him as a person proper to be consulted. His land was ofo fituated, that the opening of a road between Fort Edward and Skenesborough would greatly enhance its value. This circumstance might have made him more urgent in his recommendations of that route, especially as its being the shortest, it bid fair for uniting the royal interest with private convenience. The opinion formed by general Burgoyne of the effect of his direct movement from Skenef-

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Skenef-

orough to Fort Edward on the American garrison, was 1777. erified by the event; for being apprehensive of having heir retreat cut off, they abandoned their fort and burnt heir vessels. The navigation of Lake George being hereby left free, provisions and ammunition were brought orward from Fort George to the first navigable parts of Hudson's-River. This is a distance of 15 miles, and the oads of difficult passage. The intricate combination of and and water carriage, together with the infufficient neans of transportation, and excessive rains, caused such delays, that at the end of fifteen days there were not more han four days provision brought forward, nor above ten atteaux in the river. The difficulties of this conveyance, s well as of the march through the wilderness from no less skenesborough to Fort Edward, were encountered and a log- overcome by the royal army, with a fpirit and alacrity ifficult which could not be exceeded. At length, after incredible rgoyne atigue and labour, general Burgoyne, and the army un- July 30. a, and ler his command reached Fort Edward, on Hudson's-Rid this er. Their exultation on accomplishing, what for a long ion on lime had been the object of their hopes, was unusually He had great that they would be don't with as the wone will we

While the British were retarded in their advance by of his he combined difficulties of nature and art, events took efift to place, which proved the wisdom and propriety of the rereat from Ticonderoga. The army faved by that means, vas between the inhabitants and general Burgoyne. This bated the panic of the people, and became a center of endezvous for them to repair to. On the other hand, had they stood their ground at Ticonderoga, they must in he ordinary course of events, in a short time, either have een cut to pieces, or furrendered themselves prisoners f war. In either case, as general St. Clair represented n his elegant defence: "Fear and dismay would have eized on the inhabitants from the false opinion that had een formed of the strength of these posts, wringing grief nd moping melancholy, would have filled the habitations f those whose dearest connexions were in that army, and lawless host of ruffians, set loose from every social prinple, would have roamed at large through the defence-

1777. less country, while bands of favages would have carried havock, devastation and terror before them. Great part of the state of New-York must have submitted to the conqueror, and in it he would have found the means to profecute his fuccefs. He would have been able effectually to have co-operated with general Howe, and would probably foon have been in the fame country with him-that country where the illustrious Washington, with an inferior force made fo glorious a stand, but who must have been obliged to retire, if both armies had come upon him at once -- or he might have been forced to a general and decifive action in unfavourable circumfrances, whereby the hopes, the now well founded hopes of America -- of liberty, peace and fafety might have been cut off forever." Such, it was apprehended, would have been the confequences, if the American northern army had not retreated from their posts at Ticonderoga. From the adoption of that measure very different events took place. In a few days after the evacuation, general Schuyler iffued a proclamation, calling to the minds of the inhabitants the late barbarities and defolations of the royal army in Jersey--warning them that they would be dealt with as traitors, if they joined the British, and requiring them with their arms to repair to the American standard. Numerous parties were also employed in bringing off public stores, and in felling trees, and throwing obstructions in the way of the advancing royal army. At first an universal panie intimidated the inhabitants, but they foon recovered. The laws of felf-prefervation operated in their full force, and diffused a general activity through the adjacent states. The formalities of convening, draughting and officering the militia, were in many instances dispenced with. Hundreds feized their firelocks, and marched on the general call, without waiting for the orders of their immediate commanders. The inhabitants had no means of fecurity,

but to abandon their habitations, and take up arms. Every

individual faw the necessity of becoming a temporary fol-

dier. The terror exited by the Indians, instead of disposing

the inhabitants to court British protection, had a contrary

effect. The friends of the royal cause, as well as its ene-

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fuffered from their indifferiminate barbarities. Among 1777other instances, the murder of Miss M'Crea excited an universal horror. This young lady, in the innocence of youth, and the bloom of beauty--- the daughter of a fleady loyalift, and engaged to be married to a British officer, was on the very day of her intended nuptials, massacred by the favage auxiliaries, attached to the British army. * Occasion was thereby given to inflame the populace, and to blacken the royal cause. The cruelties of the Indians, and the cause in which they were engaged, were affociated together, and prefented in one view to the alarmed inhabitants. Those whose interest it was to draw forth the militia in support of American independence, Arongly expressed their execrations of the army, which submitted to accept of Indian aid, and they loudly condemned that government which could call fuch auxiliaries into a civil contest, as were calculated not to subdue, but to exterminate a people whom they affected to reclaim as subjects. Their cruel mode of warfare, by putting to death as well the smiling infant and the defenceless temale, as the refifting armed man, excited an universal spirit of refistance. In conjunction with other circumstances, it impreffed on the minds of the inhabitants a general conviction that a vigorous determined opposition was the only alternative for the preservation of their property, their children and their wives. Could they have indulged the hope of security and protection while they remained peaceably at their homes, they would have found many excuses for declining to assume the profession of foldiers, but when they contrasted the dangers of a manly refistance, with those of a passive inaction, they chose the former, as the least of two unavoidable evils. All the feeble aid, which

This, though true, was no premedidated barbarity. The circumstances were as follows: Mr. Jones, her lover, from an anxiety for her fasety, engaged some Indians to remove her from among the Americans, and promised to reward the person who should bring her safe to him, with a barrel of rum. Two of the Indians, who had conveyed her some distance, on the way to her intended husband, disputed, which of them should present her to Mr. Jones. Both were anxious for the reward. One of them killed her with his tomahawk, to prevent the other from receiving it. Burgoyne obliged the Indians to deliver up the murderer, and threatened to put him to death. His life was only spated, upon the Indians agreeing to terms, which the general thought would be more efficacious than an execution, in preventing similar mischiefs.

Aug. 3.

1777. which the royal army received from their Indian auxiliaries, was infinitely overbalanced by the odium it brought on their cause, and by that determined spirit of opposition which the dread of their favage cruelties excited. While danger was remote, the pressing calls of Congress, and of the general officers, for the inhabitants to be in readiness to oppose a distant foe were unavailing, or tardily executed, but no fooner had they recovered from the first impression of the general panic, than they turned out with unexampled alacrity. The owners of the foil came forward with that ardor, which the love of dear connections and of property inspires. An army was speedily poured forth from the woods and mountains. they who had begun the retreat were nearly wasted away, the spirit of the country immediately supplied their place with a much greater and more formidable force. In addition to these incitements, it was early conjectured, that the royal army, by pushing forward would be so entangled as not to be able to advance or retrat on equal terms. Men of abilities and of eloquence, influenced with this expectation, harangued the inhabitants in their feveral towns --- fet forth in high-colouring, the cruelties of the favage auxiliaries of Great-Britain, and the fair prospects of capturing the whole force of their enemies. From the combined influence of these causes, the American army foon amounted to upwards of 13,000 men.

While general Burgoyne was forcing his way down towards Albany, lieutenant colonel St. Leger was co-operating with him in the Mohawk country. He had afcended the river St. Lawrence, croffed Lake Ontario, and commenced the fiege of Fort Schuyler. On the approach of this detachment of the royal army, general Harkimer collected about 800 of the whig militia of the parts ad-

jacent, for the relief of the garrison.

St. Leger aware of the consequences of being attacked in his trenches, detached Sir John Johnson, with some tories and Indians to lie in ambush, and intercept the advancing militia. The stratagem took effect. The general 6. and his militia were surprised, but several of the Indians were nevertheless killed by their fire. A scene of consu-

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sion followed. Some of Harkimer's men run off, but others 1777. posted themselves behind logs, and continued to fight with bravery and success. The loss on the fide of the Americans was 160 killed, besides the wounded. Among the former was their gallant leader general Harkimer. Several of their killed and wounded were principal inhabitants of that part of the country. Colonel St. Leger availed himself of the terror excited on this occasion, and endeavoured by strong representations of Indian barbarity to intimidate the garrison into an immediate surrender. He fent verbal, and written messages, " demanding the furrender of the fort, and stating the impossibility of their obtaining relief, as their friends under general Harkimer were entirely cut off, and as general Burgoyne had forced his way through the country, and was daily receiving the submission of the inhabitants," he represented "the pains he had taken to foften the Indians, and to obtain engagements from them, that in case of an immediate surrender every man in the garrison should be spared," and particularly enlarged on the circumstance, " that the Indians were determined, in case of their meeting with farther opposition, to massacre not only the garrison, but every man, woman or child in the Mohawk country." Colonel Gansevort, who commanded in the fort, replied, " that being by the United States entrusted with the charge of the garrison, he was determined to defend it to the last extremity, against all enemies whatever, without any concern for the consequences of doing his duty."

It being resolved maugre, the threats of Indian barbarities to defend the fort .--- Lieutenant colonel Willet undertook, in conjunction with lieutenant Stockwell, to give information to their fellow citizens, of the state of the garrison. These two adventurous officers passed by night through the besiegers works, and at the hazard of falling nto the hands of favages, and fuffering from them the everity of torture, made their way for fifty miles through langers and difficulties, in order to procure relief for heir besieged associates. In the mean time the British arried on their operations with fuch industry, that in less han three weeks they had advanced within 150 yards of he fort. The

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The brave garrison, in its hour of danger, was not for gotten. General Arnold, with a brigade of continental troops, had been previously detached by general Schuyler for their relief, and was then near at hand. Mr. Tof Schuyler who had been taken up by the Americans, on suspicion of his being a spy, was promised his life and his atio estate, on consideration that he should go on and alarm New the Indians with fuch representations of the number marching against them, as would occasion their retreat tion He immediately proceeded to the camp of the Indians, the and being able to converse in their own language, informed to be them that vast numbers of hostile Americans were near view at hand. They were thoroughly frightened and determined from ed to go off. St. Leger used every art to retain them object but nothing could change their determination. It is the of f characteristic of these people on a reverse of fortune to murberray irresolution, and a total want of that constancy, riso which is necessary to struggle for a length of time with who difficulties. They had found the fort stronger and better pect defended than was expected. They had lost feveral head be e men in their engagement with general Harkimer, and had ing gotten no plunder. These circumstances, added to the cer- and tainty of the approach of a reinforcement to their adver-daries, which they believed to be much greater than i form really was, made them quite untractable. Part of them Ver-instantly decamped, and the remainder threatened to fol-form low, if the British did not immediately retreat. The that measure was adopted, and the siege raised. From the wer Aug. 22 the tents, and much of the artillery and stores of the be wan fiegers, fell into the hands of the garrison. The discontinent tented savages, exasperated by their ill fortune, are said only on their retreat, to have robbed their British associates supposed their british supposed the supposed their british supposed the of their baggage and provisions.

While the fate of Fort Schuyler was in suspense, i nel occurred to general Burgoyne, on hearing of its bein be e besieged, that a sudden and rapid movement forwar Am would be of the utmost consequence. As the princip only force of his adversaries was in front between him as tem Albany, he hoped by advancing on them, to reduce the .712 the

ot for them to the necessity of fighting, or of retreating out of 1777. inenta his way to New-England. Had they to avoid an attack, thuyler retreated up the Mohawk river, they would, in case of St.

Toll Leger's success, have put themselves between two fires.

Had they retreated to Albany, it was supposed their situation would have been worse, as a co-operation from New-York was expected. Besides, in case of that movement, an opportunity would have been given for a junction of Burgoyne and St. Leger. To have retired from addians, the scene of action by filing off for New-England, seemed to be the only opening lest for their escape. With such views general Burgoyne promised himself great advantages, termine from advancing rapidly towards Albany. The principal them, objection against this plausible project, was the difficulty it is the of furnishing provisions to his troops. To keep up a com-tune to munication with Fort George, so as to obtain from that garnstancy, rison, regular supplies at a distance daily encreasing, was me with wholly impracticable. The advantages which were exd better pected from the proposed measure, were too dazzling to al head be easily relinquished. Though the impossibility of drawand had ing provisions from the stores in their rear, was known the cere and acknowledged, yet a hope was indulged that they radver might be elsewhere obtained. A plan was therefore than i formed to open resources, from the plentiful farms of of them Vermont. Every day's account, and particularly the information of colonel Skene, induced Burgoyne to believe, that one description of the inhabitants in that country were panic struck, and that another, and by far the most radical stations. Indians numerous, were friends to the British interest, and only the be wanted the appearance of a protecting power to shew ediscon themselves. Relying on this intelligence, he detached are faid only 500 men, 100 Indians, and two field pieces, which he Mociates supposed would be fully sufficient for the expedition.

The command of this force was given to lieutenant colopense, and it was supposed that with it he would be enabled to seize upon a magazine of supplies which the forwar Americans had collected at Bennington, and which was principle only guarded by militia. It was also intended to try the temper of the inhabitants and to mount the dragoons. Lieutenant colonel Baum was instructed to keep the rether that the Vol. II.

1777. gular force posted, while the light troops felt their way Con and to avoid all danger of being furrounded, or of have Star ing his retreat cut off. But he proceeded with less can and tion than his perilous fituation required. Confiding i cefs the numbers and promifed aid of those who were depend thei ed upon as friends, he prefumed too much. On his ap be a proaching the place of his destination, he found the A Stat merican militia stronger than had been supposed. H The therefore took post in the vicinity, --- entrenched his party a gi and dispatched an express to general Burgoyne, with a on account of his fituation. Colonel Breyman was detached the to reinforce him. Though every exertion was made to able push forward this reinforcement, yet from the imprace It a ticable face of the country and defective means of trans tation portation, 32 hours elapsed before they had marched 2 7 miles. General Starke who commanded the American was militia at Bennington, engaged with them before the june of tion of the two royal detachments could be effected. Or rica this occasion about 800 undisciplined militia, without bay tom onets, or a fingle piece of artillery, attacked and routed of t 500 regular troops advantageously posted behind en this trenchments---furnished with the best arms, and defended cou with two pieces of artillery. The field pieces were taken mer from the party commanded by col. Baum, and the great the est part of his detachment was either killed or captured Ben Colonel Breyman arrived on the same ground and on the mer same day, but not till the action was over. Instead of for meeting his friends, as he expected, he found himself obtificitly attacked. This was begun by colonel Warner, her (who with his continental regiment, which having been brofent for from Manchester, came opportunely at this time wan and was well supported by Stark's militia, which had just for defeated the party commanded by colonel Baum. Brey. defeated the party commanded by colonel Baum. Brey Au man's troops, though fatigued with their preceding march, lay, behaved with great resolution, but were at length compelled led to abandon their artillery, and retreat. In these two actions the Americans took four brass field pieces, twelve ever brass drums, 250 dragoon swords, 4 ammunition was the gons, and about 700 prisoners. The loss of the Americans, inclusive of their wounded, was about 100 men.

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Congress resolved, "that their thanks be presented to gen. Stark, of the New-Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and fuccessful attack upon, and fignal victory over the enemy in their lines at Bennington, and also, that brigadier Stark, be appointed a brigadier general in the army of the United the A States." Never were thanks more deservedly bestowed. d. He The overthrow of these detachments was the first link in s party a grand chain of causes, which finally drew down ruin with a on the whole royal army. The confidence with which etaches the Americans were inspired, on finding themselves made to able to defeat regular troops, produced surprising effects. It animated their exertions, and filled them with expecf trans tation of farther successes.

That military pride, which is the foul of an army, merical was nurtured by the captured artillery, and other trophies he junc of victory. In proportion to the elevation of the Americans, was the depression of their adversaries. Accustomed to success, as they had been in the preceding part of the campaign, they felt unusual mortification from this unexpected check. Though it did not diminish their courage, it abated their confidence. It is not easy to enuser takes merate all the disastrons consequences which resulted to re taken merate all the difastrous consequences which resulted to e great the royal army, from the failure of their expedition to aptured Bennington. These were so extensive, that their loss of don the men was the least considerable. It deranged every plan stread of for pushing the advantages which had been previously himself obtained. Among other embarrassments it reduced general Burgoyne to the alternative of halting, till he mg been brought forward supplies from Fort George, or of adhis time vancing without them at the risque of being starved. The had just former being adopted, the royal army was detained from Brey August 16th, to September 13th. This unavoidable degrarch, lay, gave time and opportunity for the Americans to colcompellest in great numbers.

The defeat of lieutenant colonel Baum, was the first

Ine deteat of lieutenant colonel Baum, was the first event which for a long time had taken place in favour of the American northern army. From December 1775, American that experienced one misfortune, treading on the heels of another, and defeat succeeding defeat. Every move-congress

ment had been either retreating or evacuating. The fubfequent transactions present a remarkable contrast. Fortune, which previous to the battle of Bennington, had not for a moment quitted the British standard, seemed after that event, as if she had totally deserted it, and gone over to the opposite party.

After the evacuation of Ticonderoga, the Americans had fallen back from one place to another, till they at last fixed at Vanshaick's island. Soon after this retreating system was adopted, Congress recalled their general officers, and put general Gates at the head of their north, ern army. His arrival gave fresh vigour to the exertions of the inhabitants. The militia slushed with their recent victory at Bennington, collected in great numbers to his standard. They soon began to be animated with a hope of capturing the whole British army. A spirit of adventure burst forth in many different points of direction.

Sept. 13.

While general Burgoyne was urging his preparations for advancing towards Albany, an enterprize was undertaken by general Lincoln to recover Ticonderoga, and the other posts in the rear of the royal army. He detached colonel Brown with 500 men to the landing at Lake George. The colonel conducted his operations with fo much address, that he furprifed all the outposts between the landing at the north end of Lake George, and the body of the fortress at Ticonderoga. He also took Mount Defiance and Mount Hope, the French lines, and a block-house, 200 batteaux, feveral gun boats, and an armed floop, together with 200 prisoners, and at the same time released 100 Americans. His own loss was trifling. Colonel Brown and colonel Johnson, the latter of whom had been detached with 500 men, to attempt Mount Independence, on examination found that the reduction of either that post or of Ticonderoga, was beyond their ability. When the necesfary stores for thirty days subsistence, were brought forward from Lake George, general Burgoyne gave up all communication with the magazines in his rear, and

23. croffed Hudson's river. This movement was the subject the second of much discussion. Some charged it on the impetuosity of the general, and alledged, that it was premature before

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he was fure of aid from the royal forces posted in New- 1777. York, but he pleaded the peremptory orders of his fuperiors. The rapid advance of Burgoyne, and especially his passage of the North-River, added much to the impracticability of his future retreat, and in conjunction with fubsequent events made the total ruin of his army in a great degree unavoidable.

General Burgoyne, after croffing the Hudson, advanced along its fide, and in four days encamped on the heights, about two miles from general Gates' camp, which was three miles above Stillwater. The Americans, elated with their successes at Bennington and Fort Schuyler, thought no more of retreating, but came out to meet the advancing British, and engaged them with firmness and resolution. The attack began a little before midday, be- Sept. 19. tween the scouting parties of the two armies. The commanders on both fides, supported and reinforced their respective parties. The conflict, though severe, was only partial for an hour and a half, but after a short pause it became general, and continued for three hours, without any intermission. A constant blaze of fire was kept up. and both armies feemed to be determined on death or victory. The Americans and British alternately drove, and were driven by each other. Men, and particularly officers, dropped every moment, and on every fide. Several of the Americans placed themselves in high trees, and as often as they could diftinguish an officer's uniform, took him off by deliberately aiming at his person. Few actions have been characterifed by more obstinacy in attack or defence. The British repeatedly tried their bayonets, but without their usual success in the use of that weapon. At length, night put an end to the effusion of blood. The British lost upwards of 500 men, including their killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Americans, inclusive of the missing, lost 319. Thirty-six, out of forty-eight British matroffes were killed, or wounded. The 62d British regiment, which was 500 strong, when it left Canada, was reduced to 60 men, and 4 or 5 officers. This hard fought battle decided nothing, and little elfe than honour was gained by either army, but nevertheless

1777, it was followed by important confequences. Of these one was the diminution of the zeal and alacrity of the Indians in the British army. The dangerous service, in which they were engaged, was by no means fuited to their habits of war. They were disappointed of the plunder they expected, and faw nothing before them but hardships and danger. Fidelity and honour were too feeble motives in the minds of favages, to retain them in fuch an unproductive fervice. By deferting in the feafon when their aid would have been most useful, they furnished a fecond instance of the impolicy of depending upon them. Very little more perseverance was exhibited by the Canadians, and other British provincials. They also abandoned the British standard, when they found, that instead of a flying and dispirited enemy, they had a numerous and resolute force opposed to them. These New defertions were not the only disappointments which ge- he e neral Burgoyne experienced. From the commencement itua of the expedition, he had promifed himself a strong re- he l inforcement from that part of the British army, which for t was stationed at New-York. He depended on its being tom able to force its way to Albany, and to join him there, or Fraz in the vicinity. This co-operation, though attempted, len failed in the execution, while the expectation of it con- lead tributed to involve him in some difficulties, to which he irms would not have otherwise been exposed.

General Burgoyne received intelligence in a cypher, on that Sir Henry Clinton, who then commanded in New-arge York, intended to make a diversion in his favour, by attacking the fortresses which the Americans had erected of an Hudson's given to able to the fortresses. on Hudson's river, to obstruct the intercourse between o fo New-York and Albany. In answer to this communication he dispatched to Sir Henry Clinton some trusty persush sons, with a full account of his situation, and with instructions to press the immediate execution of the proposed rmy co-operation, and to affure him, that he was enabled in 4th point of provisions, and fixed in his resolution, to hold his our present position till the 12th of October, in the hopes of g favourable events. The reasonable expectation of a diversion from New-York, founded on this intelligence, with

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nade it difgraceful to retreat, and at the same time im- 1777. proper to urge offensive operations. In this posture of ffairs, a delay of two or three weeks, in expectation of he promised co-operation from New-York became neeffary. In the mean time the provisions of the royal rmy were leffening, and the animation and numbers of he American army increasing. The New-England people were fully fensible, that their All was at stake, and at the ame time fanguine, that by vigorous exertions Burgoyne y fur-ending voidable. Every moment made the fituation of the Bri-hibited ish army more critical. From the uncertainty of re-They reiving farther supplies, general Burgoyne lessened the Oct. 1. found, foldiers provisions. The 12th of October, the term till had a which the royal army had agreed to wait for aid from These New-York, was fast approaching, and no intelligence of ich ge- he expected co-operation had arrived. In this alarming cement fituation it was thought proper to make a movement to ong re- he left of the Americans. The body of troops employed which for this purpose consisted of 1500 chosen men, and was being commanded by generals Burgoyne, Philips, Reidefel, and ere, or frazer. As they advanced, they were checked by a sud-empted, len and impetuous attack; but major Ackland, at the it con- lead of the British grenadiers, sustained it with great aich he irmness. The Americans extended their attack along he whole front of the German troops, who were posted cypher, in the right of the grenadiers, and they also marched a n Newarge body round their flank, in order to cut off their ret, by atreat. To oppose this bold enterprise, the British light
erected plantry, with a part of the 24th regiment, were directed between o form a second line, and to cover the retreat of the munications into the camp. In the mean time the Americans when the forward a fresh and a strong re-inforcement, to instruct enew the action on Burgoyne's left. That part of his proposed to give way, but the light infantry, and abled in 4th regiment, by a quick movement, came to its fuchold his our, and faved it from total ruin. The British lines behopes of g exposed to great danger, the troops which were nearof a dist to them returned for their defence. General Arnold, lligence, ith a brigade of continental troops, pushed for the works poffeffed

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possessed by lord Balcarras, at the head of the British ligh infantry; but the brigade having an abbatis to crofs, and many other obstructions to surmount, was compelled to retire. Arnold left this brigade, and came to Jackson regiment, which he ordered inftantly to advance, and a tack the lines and redoubt in their front, which were de fended by lieutenant colonel Breyman at the head of the German grenadiers. The affailants pushed on with rap dity, and carried the works. Arnold was one of the fir who entered them. Lieutenant colonel Breyman wa killed. The troops commanded by him retired firing They gained their tents about 30 or 40 yards from the works, but on finding that the affault was general, the gave one fire, after which fome retreated to the Britis camp, but others threw down their arms. The night put an end to the action.

This day was fatal to many brave men. The British officers suffered more than their common proportion Among their slain general Frazer, on account of his distinguished merit, was the subject of particular regret. Si James Clark, Burgoyne's aid de camp, was mortall wounded. The general himself had a narrow escape a shot passed through his hat, and another through his waistcoat. Majors Williams and Ackland were taken and the latter was wounded. The loss of the American was inconsiderable, but general Arnold, to whose impetuosity they were much indebted for the success of the day, was among their wounded. They took more that 200 prisoners, besides 9 pieces of brass artillery, and the encampment of a German brigade, with all their equipage

The royal troops were under arms the whole of the next day, in expectation of another action, but nothing more than skirmishes took place. At this time, general Lincoln, when reconnoitring, received a dangerous wound An event which was greatly regretted, as he possessed must of the esteem and considence of the American army.

The position of the British army, after the action the 7th, was so dangerous, that an immediate and tot change became necessary. This hazardous measures executed without loss or disorder. The British

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camp, with all its appurtenances, was removed in the course of a single night. The American general now faw a fair prospect of overcoming the army opposed to him. without exposing his own to the danger of another battle. His measures were therefore principally calculated to cut off their retreat, and prevent their receiving any farther Supplies. Ballo salar roa bes contains sell behavior new

While general Burgoyne was pushing on towards Albany, an unfuccessful attempt to relieve him was made by the the British commander in New York. For this purpose, Sir Henry Clinton conducted an expedition up Oct. 5. Hudson's river. This confisted of about 3000 men, and was accompanied by a fuitable naval force. After making many feints he landed at Stoney Point, and marched over the mountains to Fort Montgomery, and attacked the different redoubts. The garrison commanded by governor Clinton, a brave and intelligent officer, made a gallant resistance. But as the post had been designed principally to prevent the paffing of thips, the works on the land fide were incomplete and untenable. When it began to grow dark, the British entered the fort with fixed bayonets. The loss on neither fide was great. Governor Clinton, general James Clinton, and most of the officers and men effected their escape under cover of the thick smoke and darkness that suddenly prevailed,

The reduction of this post furnished the British with an opportunity for opening a passage up the North-River, but instead of pushing forward to Burgoyne's encampment, or even to Albany, they spent several days in laying waste the adjacent country. The Americans defroyed Fort Constitution, and also set fire to two new frigates, and fome other vessels. General Tryon at the same time destroyed a settlement, called Continental Village, which contained barracks for 1500 men, besides many stores. Sir James Wallace with a slying squadron of light frigates, and general Vaughan with a detachment of land forces, continued on and near the river for several days, desolating the country near its margin. General Vaughan fo completely burned Esopus, a fine fourishing village, that a fingle house was not left stand-

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ing, though on his approach the Americans had left the town without making any reliftance. Charity would lead us to suppose that these devastations were designed to answer military purposes. Their authors might have hoped to divert the attention of general Gates, and thus indirectly relieve general Burgoyne, but if this was intended the artifice did not take effect. The prefervation of property was with the Americans only a fecondary object. The capturing of Burgoyne promifed fuch important confequences, that they would not fuffer any other confideration to interfere with it. General Gates did not make a fingle movement that leffened the probability of effecting his grand purpole. He wrote an expostulatory letter to Vaughan, part of which was in the following terms: "Is it thus your king's generals think to make converts to the royal cause? It is no less surprizing than true, that the measures they adopt to serve their mafter, have a quite contrary effect. Their cruelty eftablishes the glorious act of independence upon the broad basis of the refentment of the people." Whether policy or revenge led to this devastation of property is uncertain, but it cannot admit of a doubt that it was far from being the most effectual method of relieving Burgoyne.

The paffage of the North-River was made fo practicable by the advantages gained on the 6th of October, that Sir Henry Clinton, with his whole force, amounting to 3000 men, might not only have reached Albany, but general Gates' encampment, before the 12th, the day till which Burgoyne had agreed to wait for aid from New-York. While the British were doing mischief to individuals without ferving the cause of their royal master, it seems as though they might by pushing forward about 136 miles in fix days, have brought Gates' army between two fires, at least twenty-four hours before Burgoyne's necessity compelled his submission to articles of capitulation. Why they neglected this opportunity of relieving their fuffering brethren, about thirty-fix miles to the northward of Albany, when they were only about one hundred miles below it has never yet been fatisfactorily explained.

Gates posted 1400 men on the heights opposite the fords

fords of Saratoga, and 2000 more in the rear, to prevent 1777. a retreat to Fort Edward, and 1500 at a ford higher up. Burgoyne receiving intelligence of these movements, concluded from them, especially from the last, that Gates meant to turn his right. This, if effected, would have entirely enclosed him. To avoid being hemmed in, he resolved on an immediate retreat to Saratoga. His hospital, with the fick and wounded, were necessarily left behind, but they were recommended to the humanity of general Gates, and received from him every indulgence their fituation required. When general Burgoyne arrived at Saratoga, he found that the Americans had posted a considerable force on the opposite heights, to impede his paffage at that ford. In order to prepare the way for a retreat to Lake George, general Burgoyne ordered a detachment of artificers, with a strong escort of British and provincials, to repair the bridges and open the road leading thither. Part of the escort was withdrawn on other duty, and the remainder on a flight attack of an inconsiderable party of Americans, ran away. The workmen thus left without support, were unable to effect the business on which they had been sent. The only practicable route of retreat, which now remained, was by a night march to Fort Edward. Before this attempt could be made, fcouts returned with intelligence, that the Americans were entrenched opposite to those fords on the Hudson's river, over which it was proposed to pass, and that they were also in force on the high ground between Fort Edward and Fort George. They had at the fame time parties down the whole shore and posts, so near as to observe every motion of the royal army. Their polition extended nearly round the British, and was by the nature of the ground in a great measure secured from attacks. The royal army could not stand its ground where it was, from the want of the means necessary for their fubfistence; nor could it advance towards Albany, Albany without attacking a force greatly superior in number; nor below it. could it retreat without making good its way over a river in face of a strong party, advantageously posted on the opposite side. In case of either attempt, the Americans were

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of their bridge could bring their whole force to operate.

Truly distressing was the condition of the royal army. Abandoned in the most critical moment by their Indian allies---unsupported by their brethren in New-York---weakened by the timidity and desertion of the Canadians---worn down by a series of incessant efforts, and greatly reduced in their numbers by repeated battles, they were invested by an army nearly three times their number, without a possibility of retreat, or of replenishing their exhausted stock of provisions. A continual cannonade pervaded their camp, and risle and grape shot fell in many parts of their lines. They nevertheless retained a great share of fortitude.

In the mean time the American army was hourly increating. Volunteers came in from all quarters, eager to thare in the glory of destroying or capturing those whom they confidered as their most dangerous enemies. The 13th of October at length arrived. The day was spent in anxious expectation of its producing fomething of confe-But as no prospect of affistance appeared, and their provisions were nearly expended, the hope of receiving any in due time for their relief, could not reafonably be further indulged. General Burgoyne though proper in the evening, to take an account of the provisions left. It was found on enquiry, that they would amount to no more than a feanty subfiftence for three days. In this state of distress, a council of war was called and it was made fo general, as to comprehend both the field officers and the captains. Their unanimous opinion was, that their prefent fituation justified a capitulation or honourable terms. A meffenger was therefore dispatched to begin this business. General Gates in the first instance demanded, that the royal army should surrender prisoners of war. He also proposed that the British should ground their arms. But general Burgoyne replied, "This article is inadmissible in every extremity; --- fooner than this army will confent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter." After various meffages, a convention was fettled

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erate. army, Indian Tonk--nadians greatly vere in. , withneir exnonade n many a great urly in. eager to e whom . The spent in f conseed, and e of rereafonthough he prowould or three s called, both the opinion ation of fpatched instance prisoners ground This arthan this

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by which it was substantially stipulated as follows: The troops under general Burgoyne, to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery are to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free paffage to be granted to the army under lieutenant general Burgoyne to Great-Britain, upon condition of not ferving again in North-America during the present contest, and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of the transports to receive the troops whenever general Howe shall to order. The army under lieutenant general Burgovne to march to Maffachusetts-Bay, by the easiest route, and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible, to Boston. The troops to be provided with provision by general Gates' orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army. All officers to retain their carriages, bat horses, and no baggage to be molested or fearched. The officers are not, as far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men. The officers to be quartered according to their rank. All corps whatever of lieutenant general Burgoyne's army, to be included in the above articles. All Canadians, and perfons belonging to the Canadian establishment, and other followers of the army, to be permitted to return to Canada--to be conducted to the first British post on Lake George, and to be supplied with provisions as the other troops, and to be bound by the fame condition of not ferving during the present contest. Passports to be granted to three officers, to carry despatches to Sir William Howe .-- Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great-Britain. The officers to be admitted on their parole, and to be permitted to wear their fide arms." Such were the embarraffments of the royal army, incapable of fubfilling where it was, or of making its way to a better fituation, that these terms were rather more favourable than they had a right to expect. On the other hand it would not have been prudent for the American general at the head of his army, which, though numerous, confisted mostly of militia or new levies, to have provoked the despair of even an inferior number of brave

brave disciplined regular troops. General Gates rightly judged that the best way to secure his advantages was to use them with moderation. Soon after the convention was figned, the Americans marched into their lines, and were kept there till the royal army had deposited their arms at the place appointed. The delicacy with which this business was conducted, reflected the highest honour on the American general. Nor did the politeness of Gates end here. Every circumstance was withheld, that could conflicute a triumph in the American army. The caprive general was received by his conqueror with resped and kindnefs. A number of the principal officers of both armies, met at general Gates' quarters, and for a while, feemed to forget in focial and convivial pleasures, that they had been enemies. The conduct of general Burgoyne in this interview with general Gates was truly dignified, and the historian is at a loss whether to admire most, the magnanimity of the victorious, or the fortitude of the vanquished general.

The British troops partook liberally of the plenty that reigned in the American army. It was the more acceptable to them, as they were destitute of bread and flour, and had only as much meat left, as was sufficient for a

days subsistance.

By the convention which has been mentioned, 5790 men were furrendered prisoners. The fick and wounded left in camp, when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German and Canadian troops, who were killed, wounded or taken, and who had deferted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be 4689. The whole royal force, exclusive of Indians, was probably about 10,000. The stores which the Americans acquired, were confiderable. captured artillery confifted of 35 brass field pieces. There were also 4647 muskets, and a variety of other useful and much wanted articles, which fell into their hands. The continentals in general Gates' army were 9093, the militia 4129, but of the former 2103 were fick or on furlough, and 562 of the latter were in the same situation The number of militia was constantly fluctuating.

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The general exultation of the Americans, on receiving the agreeable intelligence of the convention of Saratoga, difarmed them of much of their refentment. The burnings and devastations which had taken place were sufficient to have inflamed their minds, but private feelings were in a great measure absorbed by a consideration of the many advantages, which the capture of so large an army promised to the new formed states.

In a short time after the convention was signed, general Gates moved forward to stop the devastations of the British on the North-River, but on hearing of the fate of Burgoyne, Vaughan and Wallace retired to New-York.

About the same time the British, which had been lest in the rear of the royal army, destroyed their cannon, and abandoning Ticonderoga, retreated to Canada. The whole country, after experiencing for several months the confusions of war, was in a moment restored to perfect tranquility.

Great was the grief and dejection in Britain, on receiving the intelligence of the fate of Burgoyne. The expedition committed to him had been undertaken with the most consident hopes of success. The quality of the troops he commanded, was such, that from their bravery, directed by his zeal, talents and courage, it was presumed that all the northern parts of the United States would be subdued before the end of the campaign. The good fortune which for some time followed him justified these expectations, but the catastrophe proved the folly of planning distant expeditions, and of projecting remote conquests.

The consequences of these great events, vibrated round the world. The capture of Burgoyne was the hinge on which the revolution turned. While it encouraged the perseverance of the Americans by well grounded hopes of final success, it encreased the embarrassments of that ministry, which had so ineffectually laboured to compel heir submission. Opposition to their measures gathered new strength, and formed a stumbling block in the road o conquest. This prevented Great-Britain from acting with that collected force which an union of sentiments

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the best informed Americans had doubts of success in establishing their independence, but henceforward their language was, "That whatever might be the event of their present struggle, they were forever lost to Great-Britain." Nor were they deceived. The eclat of capturing a large army of British and German regular troops,

foon procured them powerful friends in Europe.

Immediately after the furrender of the troops, commanded by lieutenant general Burgoyne, they were marched to the vicinity of Boston. On their arrival they were quartered in the barracks on Winter and Prospect hills. The general court of Maffachusetts passed proper resolutions for procuring suitable accommodations for the prifoners; but from the general unwillingness of the people to oblige them, and from the feebleness of that authority which the republican rulers had at that time over the property of their fellow citizens, it was impossible to provide immediately for fo large a number of officers and foldiers, in fuch a manner as their convenience required, or as from the articles of convention they might reasonably expect. The officers remonstrated to general Burgoyne, that fix or feven of them were crouded together in one room, without any regard to their respective ranks, in violation of the 7th article of the convention. General Burgoyne, on the 14th of November forwarded this account to general Gates, and added, " the public faith is broken." This letter being laid before Congress, gave an alarm. It corroborated an apprehension, previously entertained that the captured troops on their embarkation would make a junction with the British garrisons in A. merica. The declaration of the general, that "the public faith was broken" while in the power of Congress, was confidered by them as destroying the security which they before had in his personal honour, for in every event he might adduce his previous notice to justify his future conduct. They therefore refolved, "That the embarkation of lieutenant general Burgoyne, and the troops under his command, be postponed, till a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention of Saratoga be properly notified

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w the court of Great-Britain to Congress." General Burgoyne explained the intention and construction of the affage objected to in his letter, and pledged himfelf, hat his officers would join with him in figning any inrument that might be thought necessary for confirming he convention, but Congress would not recede from their esolution. They alledged, that it had been often afferted y their adversaries that " faith was not to be kept with ebels," and that therefore they would be deficient in atention to the interests of their constituents, if they did ot require an authentic ratification of the convention by ational authority, before they parted with the captured roops. They urged farther, that by the law of nations, compact broken in one article, was no longer binding any other. They made a destinction between the suenfion and abrogation of the convention, and alledged hat ground to suspect an intention to violate it, was a offifying reason for suspending its execution on their art, tillit was properly ratified. The defired ratification Great-Britain was feriously disposed to that measure, light have been obtained in a few months, and Congress niformly declared themselves willing to carry it into full feet, as foon as they were secured of its observance by roper authority on the other fide.

About eight months after certain royal commissioners, hose official functions shall be hereafter explained, made requisition respecting these troops—offered to ratify the convention, and required permission for their emphasism. On enquiry it was found, that they had no thority to do any thing in the matter which would be digatory on Great-Britain. Congress therefore resolved, that no ratification of the convention, which may be indered in consequence of powers, which only reach that see by construction and implication, or which may subset whatever is transacted relative to it, to the future apposation or disapprobation of the parliament of Greatitain, can be accepted by Congress."

Till the capture of Burgoyne the powers of Europe re only spectators of the war between Great-Britain d her late colonies, but soon after that event they were Vol. II.

with encouragement or good wishes from the friends

verfy, the claims of the Americans were patronifed by fundry respectable foreigners. The letters, addresses, and other public acts of Congress, were admired by many who had no personal interest in the contest. Liberty is so evidently the undoubted right of mankind, that ever they who never possessed it feel the propriety of contending for it, and whenever a people take up arms is ther to desend or to recover it, they are sure of meeting

humanity in every part of the world. drus an animper of

From the operation of these principles, the America had the esteem and good wishes of multitudes in all par of Europe. They were reputed to be ill used, and we represented as a resolute and brave people, determined refift oppression. Being both pitied and applauded, nerous and sympathetic fentiments were excited in the favour. These circumstances would have operated every case, but in the present, the cause of the America was patronifed from additional motives. An univer jealoufy prevailed against Great-Britain. Her navy h long tyranifed over the nations of Europe, and demand as a matter of right that the thips of all other power should strike their fails to her, as mistress of the oce From her eagerness to prevent supplies going to her bellious colonists, as she called the Americans, the vell of foreign powers had for some time past been subject to fearches and other interruptions, when steering towar America, in a manner that could not but be impatien born by independent nations. That pride and infolm which brought on the American war, had long difguil her neighbours, and made them rejoice at her misfortum and especially at the prospect of dismembering her or grown empire.

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1778.

The Alliance between France and the United States.
The Campaign of 1778.

COON after intelligence of the capture of Burgoyne's army reached Europe, the court of France concluded at Paris, treaties of alliance and commerce with the United States. The circumstances which led to this great event, deserve to be particularly unfolded. The colonists having taken up arms, uninfluenced by the enemies of Great-Britain, conducted their opposition for several months after they had raifed troops, and emitted money, without any reference to foreign powers. They knew it to be the interest of Europe, to promote a separation between Great-Britain and her colonies, but as they began the contest with no other view than to obtain a redress of grievances, they neither wished in the first period of their opposition to involve Great-Britain in a war, nor to procure aid to themselves by paying court to her enemies. The policy of Great-Britain in attempting to deprive the Americans of arms, was the first event which made it neceffary for them to feek foreign connexions. time the was urging military preparations to compel their fubmission, she forbad the exportation of arms, and solicited the commercial powers of Europe, to co-operate with her by adopting a fimilar prohibition. To frustrate the views of Great-Britain Congress, besides recommending the domestic manufacture of the materials for military stores, appointed a fecret committee with powers to procure on their account arms and ammunition, and also employed agents in foreign countries for the same purpose. The evident advantage which France might derive from the continuance of the dispute and the countenance which individuals of that country daily gave to the Americans, encouraged Congress to send a political and commercial agent to that kingdom, with instructions to solicit its friendship, and to procure military stores. Silas Deane, being chosen for this purpose, sailed for France early in 1776, and was foon after his arrival at Paris instructed to found count de Vergennes, the French minister for foreign

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verfy. As the public mind, for reasons which have been mentioned, closed against Great-Britain, it opened towards other nations.

On the 11th of June 1776, Congress appointed a committee, to prepare a plan of a treaty to be proposed to so reign powers. The discussion of this novel subject engaged their attention till the latter end of September. While Congress was deliberating thereon, Mr. Deane was soliciting a supply of arms, ammunition and soldiers cloathing, for their service. A sufficiency for lading three vessels was soon procured. What agency the government of France had in surnishing these supplies, or whether they were sold or given as presents, are questions which have been often asked, but not satisfactorily answered, for the business was so conducted that the transaction might be made to assume a variety of complexions, as circumstances might render expedient.

It was most evidently the interest of France to encourage the Americans in their opposition to Great Britain, and it was true policy to do this by degrees and in a private manner, lest Great-Britain might take the alarm. Individuals are sometimes influenced by confiderations of friendship and generosity, but interest is the pole star by which nations are universally governed. It is certain that Great-Britain was amused with declarations of the most pacific dispositions on the part of France, at the time the Americans were liberally supplied with the means of desence, and it is equally certain, that this was the true line of policy for promoting that dismemberment of the British empire which France had an interest in accomplishing.

Congress knew, that a diminution of the overgrown power of Britain, could not but be desirable to France. Sore with the loss of her possessions on the continent of North-America by the peace of Paris in the year 1763, and also by the capture of many thousands of her failors in 1755, antecedent to a declaration of war, she must have been something more than human, not to have rejoiced at an opportunity of depressing an antient and for-

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midable rival. Befides the increasing naval superiority of 1778.

Great-Britain, her wast resources, not only in her antient dominions, but in colonies growing daily in numbers and wealth, added to the haughtiness of her slag, made her the object both of terror and envy. It was the interest of Congress to apply to the court of France, and it was the interest of France to listen to their application.

Congress having agreed on the plan of the treaty, which they intended to propose to his Most Christian Majefty, proceeded to elect commissioners to solicit its acceptance. Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Thomas Jefferfon were chosen. The latter declining to serve, Arthur Lee, who was then in London, and had been very ferviceable to his country in a variety of ways, was elected in his room. It was refolved, that no member should be at liberty to divulge any thing more of these transactions than "that Congress had taken such steps as they judged necessary for obtaining foreign alliances." The secret committee were directed to make an effectual lodgement in France of ten thousand pounds sterling, subject to the order of these commissioners. Dr. Franklin, who was employed as agent in the business, and afterwards as minifter plenipotentiary at the court of France, was in poffession of a greater proportion of foreign fame, than any other native of America. By the dint of superior abilities, and with but few advantages in early life, he had attained the highest eminence among men of learning, and in many instances extended the empire of science. His genius was vast and comprehensive, and with equal ease investigate the mysteries of philosophy and the labyrinths of politics. His fame as a philosopher had reached as far as human nature is polished or refined. His philanthrophy knew no bounds. The prosperity and happiness of the human race were objects which at all times had attracted his attention. Disgusted with great Britain, and glowing with the most ardent love for the liberties of his oppressed native country, he left London, where he had refided fome years in the character of agent for several of the colonies, and early in 1775 returned to Philadel-

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gislature of Pennsylvania, to share in the opposition to Great-Britain as a member of Congress. Shortly after

Oct. 27. his appointment to folicit the interests of Congress in France, he failed for that country. He was no sooner

Dec. 13. landed than univerfally carrefled. His fame had smoothed the way for his reception in a public character. Doctor Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, having rendez-

voused at Paris, soon after opened their business in a private audience with count de Vergennes. The Congress could not have applied to the court of France under more favourable circumstances. The throne was filled by a prince in the flower of his age, and animated with the defire of rendering his reign illustrious. Count de Vergennes was not less remarkable for extensive political knowledge, than for true greatness of mind. He had grown old in the habits of government, and was convinced that conquests are neither the furest nor the shortest way to substantial fame. He knew full well that no success in war, however brilliant, could fo effectually promote the fecurity of France, as the emancipation of the colonies of her ancient rival. He had the superior wisdom to difcern, that there were no prefent advantages to be obtained by unequal terms, that would compensate for those lasting benefits which were likely to flow from a kind and generous beginning. Instead of grasping at too much, or taking any advantages of the humble fituation of the invaded colonies, he aimed at nothing more than by kind and generous terms to a distressed country, to perpetuate the feparation which had already taken place between the component parts of an empire, from the union of which

Truly difficult was the line of conduct, which the real interest of the nation required of the ministers of His Most Christian Majesty. An haughty reserve would have discouraged the Americans. An open reception, or even a legal countenance of their deputies might have alarmed the rulers of Great-Britain, and disposed them to a compromise with their colonies, or have brought on an immediate rupture between France and England. A middle

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dle line as preferable to either, was therefore pursued. 1778. Whilft the French government prohibited, threatened and even punished the Americans ; private persons encouraged, supplied, and supported them. Prudence, as well as policy required, that France should not be overhafty in openly espousing their cause. She was by no means fit for war. From the state of her navy, and the condition of her foreign trade, the was vulnerable on every fide. Her trading people dreaded the thoughts of a war with Great-Britain, as they would thereby be exposed to great losses. These considerations were strengthened from mother quarter. The peace of Europe was supposed to beunstable from a prevailing belief, that the fpeedy death of the elector of Bavaria was an event extremely probable. But the principle reason which induced a delay, was an opinion, that the dispute between the Mother Country and the colonies would be compromised. Within the 13 years immediately preceding, twice had the contested claims of the two countries brought matters to the verge of extremity. Twice had the guardian genius of both interposed, and reunited them in the bonds of love and affection. It was feared by the fagacious ministry of France, that the present rupture would terminate in the fame manner. These wise observers of human nature apprehended, that their too early interference would fayour a reconciliation, and that the reconciled parties would direct their united force against the French, as the disturbers of their domestic tranquility. It had not yet entered into the hearts of the French nation, that it was poffible for the British American colonists, to join with their antient enemies against their late friends.

At this period Congress did not so much expect any direct aid from France, as the indirect relief of a war between that country and Great-Britain. To subserve this design, they resolved, that "their commissioners at the court of France should be furnished with warrants and commissions, and authorised to arm and sit for war in the French ports any number of vessels (not exceeding six) at the expence of the United States, to war upon British property, provided they were satisfied this measure would

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1778: not be disagreeable to the court of France." This reso. lution was carried into effect, and in the year 1777 marine officers, with American commissions, both sailed out of French ports, and carried prizes of British property into them. They could not procure their condemnation in the courts of France, nor sell them publicly, but they no vertheless found ways and means to turn them into money. The commanders of these vessels were sometime punished by authority to please the English, but they were oftener caressed from another quarter to please the Americans.

While private agents on the part of the United State were endeavouring to embroil the two nations, the Am rican commissioners were urging the midisters of His Mo Christian Majesty to accept the treaty proposed by Congress. They received affurances of the good wishes of the court of France, but were from time to time informed that the important transaction required farther consider ation, and were enjoined to observe the most profound fecrecy. Matters remained in this fluctuating state from December 1 776, till December 1777. Privateencourage ment and public discountenance were alternated, but bot varied according to the complexion of news from Ame rica. The defeat on Long-Island, the reduction of New-York, and the train of disastrons events in 1776, which have already been mentioned, funk the credit of the Americans very low, and abated much of the national ardor for their fupport. Their subsequent successes at Trento and Princeton, effaced these impressions, and rekindle active zeal in their behalf. The capture of Burgoyne fixe these wavering politics. The success of the Americans is the campaign of 1777, placed them on high ground. Their enmity had proved itself formidable to Britain, and their friendship became desirable to France. Having helped themselves, they found it less difficult to obtain help from others. The same interest, which hitherto had directed the court of France to a temporifing policy, now required decifive conduct. Previous delay had favoured the difmemberment of the empire, but farther procrastination bid fair to promote, at least fuch a feederal alliance of the disjointed is refo. marine l out of rty into ation in they no oto mometime iey were the A. of tax ed State ie Am Tis Mo by Con s of the formed onfider rofound ate from courage but bot n Ame of New-, which he Amo ial ardor Trenton rekindle yne fixe ricans i d. Thei and their g helped help from directed required

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disjointed parts of the British Empire as would be no less hostile to the interests of France than a re-union of its severed parts. The news of the capitulation of Saratoga reached France, very early in December, 1777. The American deputies took that opportunity to press for an acceptance of the treaty, which had been under confideration for the preceding twelve months. capture of Burgoyne's army convinced the French, that the opposition of the Americans to Great Britain was not the work of a few men who had got power in their hands, but of the great body of the people, and was like to be finally successful. It was therefore determined to take them by the hand, and publicly to espouse their cause. The commissioners of Congress were informed by Mr. Gerard one of the secretaries of the King's coun- Dec. 16. cil of State, "that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of the United States and to make a treaty with them. That in the treaty no advantage would be taken of their fituation to obtain terms which, otherwife, it would not be convenient for them to agree to. That his Most Christian Majesty desired the treaty once made should be durable, and their amity to subfist forever, which could not be expected, if each nation did not find an interest in its continuance, as well as in its commencement. It was therefore intended that the terms of the treaty should be such as the new formed states would be willing to agree to if they had been long fince established, and in the fulness of strength and power; and such as they should approve of when that time should come, That his most Christian Majesty was fixed in his determination not only to acknowledge, but to support, their independence. That in doing this he might probably foon be engaged in a war, yet he should not expect any compensation from the United States on that account, nor was it pretended that he acted wholly for their fakes, fince befides his real good will to them, it was manifestly the interest of France, that the power of England should be diminished, by the separation of the colonies from its government. The only condition he should require and rely on would be, that the United States in no peace to be made

1778.

made, should give up their independence and return to the obedience of the British government." At any time previously to the 16th of December, 1777, when Mr. Gerard made the foregoing declaration, it was in the power of the British ministry to have ended the American war, and to have established an alliance with the United States, that would have been of great service to both; but from the same haughtiness which for some time had predominated in their councils, and blinded them to their interests, they neglected to improve the favourable opportunity.

Conformably to the preliminaries proposed by Mr. Gerard, his most Christian Majesty Lewis the 16th, on the 6th of February 1778, entered into treaties of amity and commerce, and of alliance with the United States, on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity. By the latter of these, that illustrious monarch became the guarantee of their sovereignty, independence and com-

merce.

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On a review of the conduct of the French ministry to the Americans, the former appear to have acted uniformly from a wife regard to national interest. An line of conduct, different from that which they adopted might have overfet the measures which they wished to establish. Had they pretended to act from disinterested principles of generosity to the distressed, the known felf-ishness of human nature would have contradicted the extravagant pretension. By avowing the real motive of their conduct they furnished such a proof of candor as begat considence.

The terms of reciprocity on which they contracted with the United States were no less recommended by wise policy than dictated by true magnanimity. As there was nothing exclusive in the treaty, an opening was lest for Great Britain to close the war when she pleased, with all the advantages for future commerce that France had stipulated for herself. This judicious measure made the establishment of American independence the common cause of all the commercial powers of Europe, for the question then was, whether the trade of the United States

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should by the subversion of their independence be again 1778. monopolifed by Great Britain, or by the establishment of it, laid open on equal terms to all the world.

In national events the public attention is generally fixed on the movements of armies and fleets. Mankind never fail to do homage to the able general and expert admiral. To this they are justly entitled, but as great a tribute is due to the statesman who, from a more elevated station, determines on measures in which the general safety and welfare of empires are involved. This glory in a particular manner belongs to the Count de Vergennes, who, as his most Christian Majesty's minister for foreign affairs, conducted the conferences which terminated in these treaties. While the ministers of his Britanic Majesty were pleasing themselves with the flattering idea of permanent peace in Europe, they were not less surprised than provoked by hearing of the alliance, which had taken place between his most Christian Majesty, and the United States. This event though often foretold was disbelieved. The zeal of the British miniftry to reduce the colonies to fubmission, blinded them to danger from every other quarter. Forgetting that interest governs public bodies perhaps more than private perfons, they supposed that feebler motives would outweigh its all commanding influence. Intent on carrying into execution the object of their wishes, they fancied that because France and Spain had colonies of their own, they would refrain from aiding or abetting the revolted British colonists, from the fear of establishing a precedent, which at a future day might operate against themselves. Transported with indignation against their late fellow subjects, they were so infatuated with the American war, as to suppose that trifling evils, both distant and uncertain, would induce the court of France to neglect an opportunity of securing great and immediate advantages.

How far this interference of the court of France can be justified by the laws of nations, it is not the province of history to decide. Measures of this kind are not determined by abstract reasoning. The present feelings of a nation, and the probable consequences of loss or gain influence more than the decisions of speculative men. Suf-

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1778. fice it to mention, that the French exculpated themselves from the heavy charges brought against them, by this fummary mode of reasoning, "We have found" said they "the late colonies of Great Britain in actual posfession of Independence, and in the exercise of the prerogatives of fovereignty. It is not our business to enquire, whether they had, or had not, fufficient reason to withdraw themselves from the government of Great Britain, and to erect an independent one of their own. to conduct towards nations, agreeably to the political state in which we find them, without investigating how they acquired it. Observing them to be independent in fact, we were bound to suppose they were so of right, and had the same liberty to make treaties with them as with any other fovereign power." They also alleged, that Great Britain could not complain of their interference, fince the had fet them the example only a few years before, in fupporting the Corficans in opposition to the court of France. They had besides many well founded complaints against the British, whose armed vessels had for months past haraffed their commerce, on the idea of preventing an illicit trade with the revolted colonies.

> The marquis de la Fayette, whose letters to France had a confiderable share in reconciling the nation to patronife the United States, was among the first in the American army who received the welcome tidings of the treaty. In a transport of joy, mingled with an effusion of tears, he embraced general Washington exclaiming "The king my mafter has acknowledged your Independence, and entered into an alliance with you for its establishment." heart-felt joy, which spread from breast to breast, ceeded description. The several brigades assembled by order of the commander in chief. Their chaplains offered up public thanks to Almighty God, and delivered difcourses suitable to the occasion. A feu de joie was fired, and on a proper fignal being given, the air refounded with "Long live the king of France," poured forth from the breast of every private in the army. The Americans, having in their own strength for three years weathered the storms of war, fancied the port of peace to be in full

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nce had atronise merican eaty. In ears, he king my entered " The aft, exd by oroffered ered difas fired, ded with rom the nericans, eathered e in full view. Replete with the fanguine hopes of vigorous youth, they prefumed that Britain, whose northernarmy had been reduced by their fole exertions, would not continue the unequal contest with the combined force of France and America. Overvaluing their own importance, and undervaluing the refources of their adversaries, they were tempted to indulge a dangerous confidence. That they might not be lulled into carelessness, Congress made an animated address to them, in which, after reviewing the leading features of the war, they informed them "They must yet expect a severe conflict; that though foreign alliances secured their independence, they could not secure their country from devastation." -- The alliance between France and America had not been concluded three days, before it was known to the British ministry, and in less than five weeks more, it was officially communicated to the court of London in a rescript, delivered by the French ambassador, to lord Weymouth. In this new situation of affairs, there were some in Great Britain who advocated the measure of peace with America, on the footing of Independence: But the point of honor, which had before precipitated the nation into the war, predominated over the voice of prudence and interest. The king and parliament of Great Britain resolved to punish the French nation for treating with their subjects, which they termed "An unprovoked aggression on the honor of the crown, and effential interests of the kingdom." And at the same time a vain hope was indulged, that the alliance between France and the United States, which was supposed to have originated in passion, might be dissolved. The national prejudices against the French, had been so instilled into the minds of Englishmen, and of their American descendants, that it was supposed practicable, by negotiations and concessions, to detatch the United States from their new alliance, and re-unite them to the parent state. Eleven days after the treaty between France and America had been Feb. 17. concluded, the British minister introduced into the house of commons a project for conciliation, founded on the idea of obtaining a re-union of the new States with Great Britain. This confifted of two bills, with the following

March 13.

1778. titles, "A bill for declaring the intention of Great Bri-

April

21.

tain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his Majesty's colonies, provinces and plantations, in North America," and a bill to" enable his Majefty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers, to treat, confult and agree, upon the means of quieting the disorders now subfifting in certain of the colonies, plantations and provinces of North America." These bills were hurried through both houses of Parliament, and before they passed into acts, were copied and sent across the Atlantic, to lord and general Howe. On their arrival in America, they were fent by a flag to Congress at York-When they were received, Congress was uninformed of the treaty which their commissioners had lately concluded at Paris. For upwards of a year, they had not received one line of information from them on any subject whatever. One packet had in that time been received, but all the letters therein were taken out before it was put on board the vessel which brought it from France, and blank paper put in their stead. A committe of Congress was appointed to examine these bills, and report on them. Their report was brought in the day following and was unanimously adopted. By this they rejected the proposals of Great Britain. The vigorous and firm language in which Congress expressed their rejection of these offers, confidered in connection with the circumstance of their being wholly ignorant of the late treaty with France, exhibits the glowing ferenity of fortitude. While the royal commissioners were industriously circulating these bills in a partial and fecret manner, as if they suspected an intention of concealing them from the common people, Congress trusting to the good sense of their constituents, ordered them to be forthwith printed for the public information. Having directed the affairs of their country with an honest reference to its welfare, they had nothing to fear from the people knowing and judging for They fubmitted the whole to the public. Their act, after some general remarks on the bill, concluded as follows,

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"From all which it appears evident to your committee, that the faid bills are intended to operate upon the hopes and fears of the good people of these states, so as to create divisions among them, and a defection from the common aufe, now, by the bleffing of Divine Providence, drawing near to a favourable iffue. That they are the fequel of hat infidious plan, which from the days of the stampct, down to the present time, hath involved this country n contention and bloodshed. And that, as in other cases o in this, although circumstances may force them at times o recede from their unjustifiable claims, there can be no oubt but they will, as heretofore, upon the first favourble occasion, again display that lust of domination, which hath rent in twain the mighty empire of Britain.

Upon the whole matter, the committee beg leave to eport it as their opinion, that as the Americans united in his arduous contest upon principles of common interest, or the defence of common rights and privileges, which nion hath been cemented by common calamities, and by nutual good offices and affection, so the great cause for thich they contend, and in which all mankind are intersted, must derive its success from the continuance of that nion. Wherefore any man or body of men, who should refume to make any separate or partial convention or greement with commissioners under the crown of Great-Britain, or any of them, ought to be confidered and reated as open and avowed enemies of these United tates.

And further, your committee beg leave to report it as heir opinion, that these United States cannot, with proriety, hold any conference with any commissioners on he part of Great-Britain, unless they shall, as a prelininary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, relfe, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said states.

And in as much as it appears to be the design of the enenies of these states to lull them into a fatal security---to he end that they may act with a becoming weight and mportance, it is the opinion of your committee, that the From everal states be called upon to use the most strenuous exer-

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June. 9

in the field as foon as possible, and that all the militia of the said states be held in readiness, to ast as occasion may

require".

The conciliatory bills were speedily followed by row commissioners, deputed to solicit their reception. Gor Johnstone, Lord Carlisse and Mr. Eden, appointed on the business attempted to open a negotiation on the subject They requested General Washington, to surnish a passport for their secretary Dr. Ferguson, with a letter from them to Congress, but this was refused, and the result was unanimously approved by congress. They then so warded in the usual channel of communication, a let addressed "to his Excellency Henry Laurens, the predent, and other the members of congress," in which the communicated a copy of their commission and of the account in every satisfactory and just arrangement towar the following among other purposes.

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To consent to a cessation of hostilities, both by

and land.

To restore free intercourse, to revive mutual affection and renew the common benefits of naturalization, through the several parts of this empire.

To extend every freedom to trade that our respect

interests can require.

To agree that no military forces shall be kept up intedifferent states of North-America, without the confe of the general congress or particuliar assemblies.

To concur in measures calculated to discharge the de of America, and to raise the credit and value of

paper circulation.

To perpetuate our union by a reciprocal deputation of agent or agents from the different states, who shall at the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament Great-Britain; or, if sent from Britain, in that case have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the differ states to which they may be deputed respectively, in one to attend the several interests of those by whom they deputed.

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In fhort, to establish the power of the respective legisatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, in eivil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, so that he British states throughout North-America, acting with as in peace and war under one common fovereign, may ave the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege, that is hort of a total separation of interests, or confistent with hat union of force, on which the fafety of our common eligion and liberty depends.

A decided negative having been already given, previous o the arrival of the British commissioners, to the overares contained in the conciliatory bills, and intelligence f the treaty with France having in the mean time arived, there was no ground left for farther deliberation. refident Laurens therefore, by order of Congress, return- Jun 17. d the following answer.

I have received the letter from your excellencies of the th instant, with the enclosures, and laid them before ongress. Nothing but an earnest defire to spare the irther effusion of human blood could have induced them p read a paper, containing expressions so disrespectful to is most Christian Majesty, the good and great ally of these ates; or to consider propositions so derogatory to the onour of an independent nation.

The acts of the British parliament, the commission om your sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people f these states to be subjects of the crown of Great-Briin, and are founded on the idea of dependence, which utterly inadmissible.

I am further directed to inform your excellencies, that ongress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust aims from which this war originated, and the favage hanner in which it hath been conducted. They will, herefore, be ready to enter upon the confideration of a eaty of peace and commerce, not inconfistent with he differe reaties already subsisting, when the King of Great Bri-ely, in ordain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. nom they he only folid proof of this disposition will be, an explit acknowledgment of the independence of these states, or le withdrawing his fleets and armics.

1778. Though Congress could not, consistently with national honor, enter on a discussion of the terms proposed by the British commissioners, yet some individuals of their body ably proved the propriety of rejecting them. Among these Governeur Morris, and W. H. Drayton, with great force of argument and poignancy of wit, justified the decifive measures adopted by their countrymen.

> As the British plan for conciliation was wholly founded on the idea of the States returning to their allegiance, it was no fooner known than rejected. In addition to the facred ties of plighted faith and national engagements, the leaden in Congress and the legislative affemblies of America, ha tafted the sweets of power and were in full possession its bleffings, with a fair prospect of retaining them with out any foreign control. The war having originated of the part of Great-Britain from a lust of power, had i its progress compelled the Americans in self defence in affume and exercise its highest prerogatives. The passion of human nature which induced the former to claim power operated no less forcibly with the latter, against the relia quishment of it. After the colonies had declared then felves independent states, had repeatedly pledged their h nor to abide by that declaration had under the smilest heaven maintained it for three campaigns without foreig aid, after the greatest monarch in Europe, had entered int a treaty with them, and guarantied their independence After all this to expect popular leaders in the enjoymen of power voluntarily to retire from the helm of govern ment to the languid indifference of 'private life, and while they violated national faith, at the same time to depre their country from the rank of fovereign states to the of dependent provinces, was not more repugnant to uni versal experience, than to, the governing principles of the human heart. The high spirited ardor of citizens in the youthful vigor of honor and dignity, did not so much enquire whether greater political happiness might be ex pected from closing with the proposals of Great-Britain or by adhering to their new allies. Honor forbad an balancing on the subject, nor were its dictates disobeyed Though peace was defirable and the offers of Great Britain

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Britain so liberal, that if proposed in due time, they would have been acceptable, yet for the Americans, after they had declared themselves independent, and at their own folicitation obtained the aid of France, to defert their new allies, and leave them exposed to British resentment incurred on their account, would have argued a total want of honor and gratitude. The folly of Great Brirain in expecting such conduct from virtuous freemen, could only be exceeded by the baseness of America, had her citizens realised that expectation.

These offers of conciliation in a great measure originated in an opinion that the Congress was supported by a faction, and that the great body of the people was hostile to independence, and well disposed to re-unite with Great Britain. The latter of these affertions was true, till a cerrain period of the contest, but that period was elapsed. With their new situation, new opinions and attachments had taken place. The political revolution of the government was less extraordinary than that of the stile and manner of thinking in the United States. The independent American citizens faw with other eyes, and heard with other ears, than when they were in the condition of British subects. That narrowness of sentiment, which prevailed n England towards France, no longer existed among he Americans. The British commissioners unapprised of this real change in the public mind, expected to keep a hold on the citizens of the United States, by that illiberality which they inherited from their forefathers. fuming that the love of peace, and the ancient national antipathy to France, would counterbalance all other ties, they flattered the mselves that by perseverance an impresson favourable to Great Britain might yet be made on the mind of America. They therefore renewed their efforts to open a negociation with Congress, in a letter of the 11th of July. As they had been informed in answer to their preceding letter of the 10th of June, that an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or a withdrawing of their fleets and armies must orbad an precede an entrance on the confideration of a treaty of disobeyed peace, and as neither branch of this alternative had been complied fhould be given to their reiterated application.

In addition to his public exertions as a commissioner, Governor Johnstone endeavoured to obtain the objects on which he had been sent by opening a private correspondence with some of the members of Congress, and other Americans of influence. He in particular addressed himself by letter to Henry Laurens. Joseph Reed and Robert Morris. His letter to Henry Laurens, was in these words.

DEAR SIR,

I beg to transfer to my friend Dr. Ferguson, the provate civilities which my friends Mr. Manning, and M. Oswald, request in my behalf. He is a man of the utmo probity and of the highest esteem, in the republic of letters.

If you should follow the example of Britain, in the hour of her insolence and send us back without a hearing I shall hope from private friendship, that I may be permitted to see the country, and the worthy characters shas exhibited to the world, upon making the request in any way you may point out." The following answer wimmediately written.

York Town, June 14th, 1778

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DEAR SIR,

Yesterday I was honoured with your favour of the 10th, and thank you for the transmission of those from my dear and worthy friends, Mr. Oswald, and Mr. Manning. Had Dr. Ferguson been the bearer of these papers, I should have shewn that gentleman every degree of respect and attention, that times and circumstances admit of.

It is fir, for Great Britain to determine, whether, her commissioners shall return unheard by the representatives of the United States, or revive a friendship with the citizens at large, and remain among us as long as they please.

You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms upon which Congress can treat for accomplishing this good end, terms from which, although writing in a private character,

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ther, her fentatives the citiey pleafe. ily terms hing this a private haracter, character, I may venture to affert with great affurance, they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile attempts, and that from the rage of war, the good people of these States, shall be driven to commence a treaty west-ward of yonder mountains. And permit me to add, Sir, as my humble opinion the true interest of Great Britain, in the present advance of our contest, will be found in confirming our independence.

Congress in no hour have been haughty, but to suppose that their minds are less firm in the present than they were, when, destitute of all foreign aid, even without expectation of an alliance---when, upon a day of general public fasting and humiliation in their house of worship, and in presence of God, they resolved "to hold no conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great-Britain unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their sleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of these States," would be irrational.

At a proper time, Sir, I shall think myself highly honoured by a personal attention, and by contributing to
render every part of these states agreeable to you; but
until the basis of mutual considence shall be established,
I believe sir, neither former private friendship, nor any
other consideration, can influence Congress to consent,
that even Governor Johnstone, a gentleman who has been
so deservedly esteemed in America shall see the country.
I have but one voice, and that shall be against it. But
let me intreat you my dear sir, do not hence conclude
that I am desicient in affection to my old friends, through
whose kindness I have obtained the honor of the present
correspondence, or that I am not with very great personal respect and esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

(Signed) HENRY LAURENS, Philadelphia.

The Honorable Geo. Johnstone, Efq.

In

In a letter to Joseph Reed of April the 11th, governor Johnstone said, "The man who can be instrumental in bringing us all to act once more in harmony, and to unite together the various powers which this contest has drawn forth, will deserve more from the king and people, from patriotifm, humanity, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, than ever was yet bestowed on human kind." On the 16th of June he wrote to Robert Morris, "I believe the men who have conducted the affairs of America incapable of being influenced by improper motives, but in all fuch trans. actions there is risk, and I think, that whoever ventures fhould be feenred, at the same time that honor and emo lument should naturally follow the fortune of those, whi have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her fafely to port. I think Washington and the President have a right to every favour, that grateful nations can beflow, if they could once more unite our interest, and fpare the miseries and devastations of war."

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June 21.

To Joseph Reed, private information was communicated, that it had been intended by gov. Johnstone, to to offer him, that in case of his exerting his abilitie to promote a re-union of the two countries, if confiftent with his principles and judgment, ten thoufand pounds fterling, and any office in the colonies in his Majefly's gift. To which Mr. Reed replied "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it." Congress or dered all letters, received by members of Congress from July 9 any of the British commissioners, or their agents, or from any fabject of the king of Great Britain, of a public nature, to be laid before them. The above letters and information being communicated, Congress resolved "That the same cannot but be considered, as direct attempts to corrupt their integrity, and that it is incompatible with the honor of Congress, to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with the said George Johnstone Esquire, especially to negociate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty is interested." Their determination, with the reasons thereof, were expressed

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in the form of a declaration, a copy of which was figned by the Prefident, and fent by a flag to the commissioners at New-York. This was answered by governor Johnstone, by an angry publication, in which he denied or explained away, what had been alleged against him. Lord Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton and Mr. Eden, denied their having any knowledge of the matter charged on governor Johnstone.

The commissioners failing in their attempts to negociate with Congress had no resource left, but to persuade the inhabitants to adopt a line of conduct, counter to that of their representatives. To this purpose they published a manifesto and proclamation, addressed to Congress, the affemblies, and all others the free inhabitants of the colonies, in which they observed. "The policy, as well as the benevolence of Great-Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people still considered as our fellow-subjects, and to desolate country shortly to become a source of mutual advanage: But when that country professes the unnatural deign not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herfelf and her refources to our enemies, the whole contest is changed; and the question is, how far Great-Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless/a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under fuch circumfrances the laws of felf-preservation must direct the conluct of Great-Britain; and if the British colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render hat accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy."

Congress upon being informed of the design of the ommissioners to circulate these papers declared, that the gents employed to distribute the manifestoes and pro-lamation of the commissioners, were not entitled to pro-ection from a slag. They also recommended to the seral states to secure and keep them in close custody, but hat they might not appear to hood-wink their constituents, they ordered the manifestoes and proclamation to be printed in the news-papers. The proposals of the commissioners were not more favourably received by the peo-

1778. ple than they had been by Congress. In some places the flags containing them were not received, but ordered infantly do depart, in others they were received, and forward. ed to Congress, as the only proper tribunal to take cognizance of them. In no one place, not immediately commanded by the British army, was there any attempt to accept, or even to deliberate, on the propriety of clofing with the offers of Britain.

> To deter the British from executing their threats of laying waste the country, Congress published to the world a refolution and manifesto in which they concluded

October with these words.

30.

"We, therefore, the Congress of the United State of America, do folemnly declare and proclaim, that i our enemies prefume to execute their threats, or perfil in their present career of barbarity, we will take fuch exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who feareheth the heart of men, for the rectitude of our intentions; and in his holy presence we declare, that as we are not moved by any light and hafty suggestions of anger and revenge, if through every possible change of fortune we will adher to this our determination."

This was the last effort of Great Britain, in the wa of negotiation, to regain her colonies. It originated in folly, and ignorance of the real state of affairs in Ame She had begun with wrong measures, and had not got into wrong time. Her concessions, on this occasion were an implied justification of the resistance of the colo-By offering to concede all that they at first asked greffor in an unjust war. Nothing could be more and ble to the cementing of the friendship of the new allies and the confuccessful negociation. The states had an opportunity of evincing the fincerity of their engagements and France abundant reason to believe that by preventing their being conquered, her favourite scheme of less the sening the power of Great Britain, would be secured be an yond the reach of accident.

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After the termination of the campaign of 1777, the British army retired to winter quarters in Philadelphia, and the American army to Valley-Forge. The former enjoyed all the conveniencies which an opulent city afforded, while the latter not half cloathed, and more than once on the point of starving, were enduring the feverity of a cold winter in a hutted camp. It was well for them that the British made no attempt to disturb them, while in this destitute condition.

The winter and ipring passed away without any more remarkable events in either army, than a few fuccessful excursions of parties from Philadelphia to the neighbouring country, for the purpose of bringing in supplies, or destroying property. In one of these, a party of the British proceeded to Bordenton, and there burned four store-houses full of useful commodities. Before they returned to Philadelphia, they burned two frigates, nine thips, fix privateer floops, twenty three brigs, with a number of floops and schooners.

Soon after, an excursion from Newport was made by goo British and Hessians, under the command of lieut. col. Campbell. These having landed in the night, marched next morning in two bodies, the one for War- May 25. the way ren, the other for the head of Kickemuet river. They ginated it destroyed about 70 flat bottomed boats, and burned a

ginated in destroyed about 70 stat bottomed boats, and burned a quantity of pitch, tar and plank. They also set fire to the meeting house at Warren, and seven dwelling houses. At Bristol they burned the church and 22 houses. Sethe color veral other houses were plundered, and women were stripped of their shoe-buckles, gold rings and handker-chiefs.

A French squadron, consisting of 12 ships of the line and 4 frigates, commanded by count D'Estaing, sailed from Toulon for America, in about two months after the treaty had been agreed upon between the United States Apr. 13. The property of the count arrived at the entrance of the Delaware. From the course of greater security, it was resolved in Great prospect of greater security, it was resolved in Great Britain, forthwith to evacuate Philadelphia and to con-Vol. II. centrate

centrate the royal force in the city and harbour of New. York. The commissioners brought out the orders for this movement, but knew nothing of the matter. It had an unfriendly influence on their proposed negotiations, but it was indispensibly necessary; for if the French fleet had blocked up the Delaware, and the Americans befieged Philadelphia, the escape of the British from either. would have been fearcely possible.

Jun. 18. The royal army passed over the Delaware into New.

Jersey. Gen. Washington, having penetrated into their design of evacuating Philadelphia, had previously de tatched Gen. Maxwell's brigade, to co-operate with the Jersey militia, in obstructing their progress, till tim would be given for his army to overtake them. British were incumbered with an enormous baggage which, together with the impediments thrown in the way, greatly retarded their march. The America army having, in pursuit of the British, crossed the Delaware, fix hundred men were immediately detatche under col. Morgan, to reinforce Gen. Maxwell. Wall ington halted his troops, when they had marched to the Jun. 24. vicinity of Princeton. The general officers in the Amrican army, being asked by the commander in chil "Will it be adviseable to hazard a general action?" and fwered in the negative, but recommended a detatchmen of 1500 men, to be immediately fent, to act as occasion might serve, on the enemy's left flank and rear. This was immediately forwarded under General Scott. Who Sir Henry Clinton had advanced to Allen-Town, he de termined instead of keeping the direct course toward Staten-Island, to draw towards the fea coast and to pul on towards Sandy-Hook. Gen. Washington on receive ing intelligence that Sir Henry was proceeding in that di rection towards Monmouth court-house, dispatche 1000 men under Gen. Wayne, and fent the Marquis d la Fayette to take command of the whole advanced corps with orders to seize the first fair opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear. Gen. Lee who having been latel exchanged had joined the army, was offered this command, but he declined it, as he was in principle again

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hazarding an attack. The whole army followed at a proper distance, for supporting the advanced corps, and reached Cranberry the next morning. Sir Henry Clinton sensible of the approach of the Americans, placed his grenadiers, light-infantry and chaseurs in his rear, and his baggage in his front. Gen. Washington increased his advanced corps with two brigades, and fent Gen. Lee, who now wished for the command, to take charge of the whole, and followed with the main army to give it support. On the next morning orders were fent to Lee, to move on and attack, unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary. When Washington had marched about five miles to support the advanced corps, he found the whole of it retreating by Lee's orders, and without having made any opposition of consequence. Washington rode up to Lee and proposed certain questions to him, which implied censure. Lee answered with warmth and unfuitable language. The commander in thief ordered Col. Stewart's and Lieut. Col. Ramfay's batalions, to form on a piece of ground, which he judged uitable for giving a check to the advancing enemy. Lee vas then asked if he would command on that ground, to which he confented, and was ordered to take proper neasures for checking the enemy, to which he replied, your orders shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field." Washington then rode to the main rmy, which was formed with the utmost expedition. varm cannonade immediately commenced, between the British and American artillery, and a heavy firing beween the advanced troops of the British army, and the wo battalions which Gen. Washington had halted. hese stood their ground, till they were intermixed with part of the British army. Lieut. Col. Ramsay the comander of one of them, was wounded and taken prison-Gen. Lee continued till the last on the field of bate, and brought off the rear of the retreating troops.

The check the British received, gave time to make a sposition of the left wing, and second line of the Amecan army in the wood, and on the eminence to which was retreating. On this, some cannon were placed

by lord Sterling, who commanded the left wing, which, with the co-operation of some parties of infantry, effectually stopped the advance of the British in that quarter. Gen, Greene took a very advantageous position, on the right of

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1778.

lord Sterling. The British attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed. They also made a movement to the right, with as little success, for Greene with artillery disappointed their design. Wayne advanged with a body of troops, and kept up so severe and well directed a fire, that the British were soon compelled to give way. They retired and took the position, which Lee had before occupied. Washington resolved to attack them, and ordered Gen. Poor to move round upon their right, and Gen. Woodford to their left; but they could not get within reach, before it was dark. These remained on the ground, which they had been directed to occuby during the night, with an intention of attacking early next morning, and the main body lay on their arms in the field to be ready for supporting them. Gen. Washington reposed himself in his cloak, under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the next day. But thek hopes were frustrated: The British troops marched away in the night, in such filence, that Gen. Poor, though he lay very near them, knew nothing of their departure They left behind them, four officers and about forty privates, all fo badly wounded, that they could not be re-Their other wounded were carried off. British purfued their march without further interruption and foon reached the neighbourhood of Sandy-Hook without the loss of either their covering party or baggage The American general declined all farther pursuit of the royalarmy, and foon after drew off his troops to the borden of the North river. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 250. The loss of the royal army inclusive of prisoners, was about 350. Lt. col Monck ton, one of the British slain, on account of his fingulat merit, was univerfally lamented. Col. Bonner of Penn fylvania, and major Dickenson of Virginia, officers highly esteemed by their country, fell in this engagement

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day, brought on fuch a fatal suppression of the vital powers, that some of the Americans, and 59 of the British, were found dead on the field of battle, without any marks of violence upon their bodies.

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It is probable, that Washington intended to take no farther notice of Lee's conduct in the day of action, but the latter could not brook the expressions used by the former at their first meeting, and wrote him two passionate letters. This occasioned his being arrested, and brought to trial. The charges exhibited against him were--1st. For disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions.

day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly and shameful retreat.

3dly, For difrespect to the commander in chief in two letters. After a tedious hearing before a court-martial of which lord Sterling was prefident, Lee was found guilty and sentenced to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States, for the term of one year, but the fecond charge was fostened by the court martial, who in their award only found him guilty of misbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unnecessary and in some few instances a disorderly retreat. Many were displeased with this fentence. They argued "that by the tenor of Lee's orders, it was submitted to his discretion, whether to attack or not, and also, that the time and manner were to be determined by his own judgment. That at one time heintended to attack, but altered his opinion on apparently good grounds. That the propriety of an attack confidering the superiority of the British cavalry, and the openness of the ground was very questionable. That though it might have distressed the enemy's rear in the first instance; it would probably have brought on a general action, before the advanced corps could have been supported by. the main body, which was fome miles in the rear." If faid they "Lee's judgment was against attacking the enemy, he could not be guilty of disobeying an order for that purpole, which was suspended on the condition of his own approbation of the measure." They also agreed that

that a suspension from command, was not a sufficient punishment for his crimes, if really guilty. They therefore inferred a presumption of his innocence from the lenient sentence of his judges. Though there was a diversity of opinions relative to the first and second charges, all were agreed in pronouncing him guilty of difrespect to the commander in chief. The Americans had formerly idolised Gen. Lee, but some of them now went to the opposite extreme, and pronounced him treacherous or deficient in courage, though there was no foundation for either of these suspicions. His temper was violent, and his impatience of fubordination had led him often to quarrel with those whom he was bound to respect and obey; but his courage and fidelity could not be questioned.

Soon after the battle of Monmouth, the American army took post at the White-Plains, a few miles beyond Kingsbridge and the British though only a few miles distant, did not molest them. They remained in this position from an early day in July, till a late one in the autumn, and then the Americans retired to Middle-Brook in Jerfey, where they built themselves huts in the same man-

Immediately on the departure of the British from

ner as they had done at Valley-Forge.

Philadelphia, Congress, after an absence of nine months, returned to the former feat of their deliberations. Soon after their return, they were called upon, to give a pub-Aug. 6. lie audience to a Minister Plenipotentiary from the court of France. The person appointed to this office, M. Gerard, the same who had been employed in the negotiations, antecedent to the treaty. The arrival and reception of a minister from France, made a strong impression on the minds of the Americans. They felt the weight and importance, to which they were rifen among nations. That the fame spot, which in less than a century, had been the refidence of favages, should become the theatre on which, the representatives of a new, free and civilifed nation, gave a public audience to a minister Plenipotentiary, from one of the oldest and most powerful kingdoms of Europe, afforded ample materials for philosophic contemplation. That in less than three years from

from the day, on which an answer was refused by Great 1778. Britain to the united supplications of the colonists, praying for peace, liberty and fafety, they should, as an independent people, be honored with the refidence of a minister from the court of France, exceeded the expecation of the most sanguine Americans. The patriots of the new world revolved in their minds thefe transactions, with heart-felt fatisfaction, while the devout were ed to admire that Providence, which had, in fo fbort a pace, stationed the United States among the powers of he earth, and clothed them in robes of Sovereignty. The British had but barely completed the removal of

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heir fleet and army, from the Delaware and Philadelphia othe harbour and city of New York, when they received ntelligence, that a French fleet was on the coast of Ameica. This was commanded by count D'Estaing; and consted of twelve ships of the line and three frigues. among the former, one carried 90 guns, another 80 nd fix 74 guns each. Their first object was the furrife of lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware, but they arved too late. In naval history, there are few more nare ow escapes than that of the British fleet, on this occaon. It consisted only of fix 64 gun ships, three of so. nd two of 40, with some frigates and sloops. Most of efe had been long on fervice, and were in a bad condi-Their force, when compared with that of the rench fleet, was so greatly inferior, that had the latter ached the mouth of the Delaware, in 75 days from its aving Toulon, their capture, in the ordinary courfe events, would have been inevitable. This firoke was ovidentially prevented, by the various hinderances hich retarded D'Estaing in his voyage to the term of 87. y felt the ys, in the last eleven of which, lord Howe's fleet, not en among ly quitted the Delaware, but reached the harbour of acentury, ew-York. D'Estaing, disappointed in his first scheme, e the theprined and appeared off Sandy-Hook. American pi- July 11 ee and ciis of the first abilities, provided for the purpose, went fter Pleniboard his fleet. Among them were perfons, whose powerful roumstances placed them above the ordinary rank of s for philots. hree years

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1778. The fight of the French fleet raifed all the active paid fions of their adversaries. Transported with indignation against the French, for interfering in what they called domestic quarrel, the British displayed a spirit of zea and bravery which could not be exceeded. A thousand volunteers were dispatched from their transports to ma their fleet. The masters and mates of the merchantme and traders at New-York, took their stations at the gun with the common failors. Others put to fea in light vel fels, to watch the motions of their enemies. The officer and privates of the British army, contended with much eagerness to serve on board the men of war as me rines, that it became necessary to decide the point

honor by lot. The French fleet came to anchor, and continued with out the Hook for eleven days. During this time the British had the mortification of seeing the blockade their fleet, and the capture of about 20 veffels under L glish colours. On the 22d, the French fleet appeared w der weigh. It was an anxious moment to the Britis They supposed that Count D'Estaing would force his w into the harbour, and that an engagement would be confequence. Every thing with them was at stake. M thing less than destruction or victory would have end the contest. If the first had been their lot, the vast se of transports and victuallers and the army must have a len. The pilots on board the French fleet, declared to be impossible to carry the large ships thereof over bar, on account of their draught of water. D'Estaing that account and by the advice of Gen. Washington, the Hook and failed for Newport. By his departure i July 22. British had a second escape, for had he remained at Hook but a few days longer, the fleet of admiral Byn

must have fallen into his hands. That officer had be fent out to relieve lord Howe who had folicited to recalled, and the fleet under his command had be fent to reinforce that which had been previously the coast of America. Admiral Byron's squadron b met with bad weather, and was separated in differe storms. It now arrived, scattered, broken, sick difmalt

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dismasted or otherwise damaged. Within 8 days af- 1778. ter the departure of the French fleet, the Renown, the Raisonable, the Centurion, and the Cornwall, arrived finely at Sandy-Hook.

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The next attempt of Count D'Estaing was against Rhode-Island, of which the British had been in possession ince December, 1776. A combined attack against it was projected, and it was agreed that Gen. Sullivan should ommand the American land forces. Such was the eaerness of the people to co-operate with their new allies, nd so confident were they of success, that some thouands of volunteers engaged in the service. The militia of Maffachusetts was under the command of Gen. Hancock. The royal troops on the island, having been lately reinorced, were about 6000. Sullivan's force was about 0,000. Lord Howe followed Count D'Estaing, and ame within fight of Rhode-Island, the day after the rench fleet entered the harbour of New-Port. ritish fleet exceeded the French in point of number, but as inferior with respect to effective force and weight of netal. On the appearance of lord Howe, the French dmiral put out to fea with his whole fleet, to engage him. While the two commanders were exerting their naval? kill to gain respectively the advantages of position, a rong gale of wind came on which afterwards increased o a tempest, and greatly damaged the ships on both des. In this conflict of the elements, two capital French hips were dismasted. The Languedoc of 90 guns, D'Estaing's own ship, after losing all her masts and her ruder, was attacked by the Renown of 50 guns, commanded y Capt. Dawson. The same evening the Preston of 50 uns, fell in with the Tonnant of 80 guns with only her painmast standing, and attacked her with spirit, but night ut an end to the engagement. Six fail of the French quadron came up in the night, which faved the disabled hips from any farther attack. There was no ship or effel lost on either side. The British suffered less in the form than their adversaries, yet enough to make it ecessary for them to return to New-York, for the purose of refitting. The French fleet came to anchor, on Vol. II.

1778. the 20th, near to Rhode-Island, but failed on the 22d, Before they failed, Gen. Greene and the Boston. Marquis de la Fayette went on board the Languedoc, confult on measures proper to be pursued. They urge D'Esaing to return with his fleet into the harbour, by his principal officers were opposed to the measure, an protested against it. He had been instructed to go Boston, if his fleet met with any misfortune. His office infifted on his ceafing to profecute the expedition again Rhode-Island, that he might conform to the orders their common fuperiors. Upon the return of Ge Greene and the Marquis de la Fayette, and their reporting the determination of Count D'Estaing, a protest was draw up and fent to him, which was figned by John Sulliva Nathaniel Greene, John Hancock, I. Glover, Ezeki Cornel, William Whipple, John Tyler, Solomon Lord Jon. Fitconnell. In this they protested against the Count's taking the fleet to Boston, as derogatory to the honor of France, contrary to the intention of his mo Christian Majesty, and the interest of his nation, and de structive in the highest degree to the welfare of the United States, and highly injurious to the alliance form ed between the two nations. Had D'Estaing prosecund his original plan within the harbour, either before a immediately after the pursuit of lord Howe, the reduction of the British post on Rhode-Island would have been pro bable, but his departure in the first instance to engage the British fleet, and in the second from Rhode-Island to Boston, frustrated the whole plan. Perhaps Coun D'Estaing, hoped by something brilliant to efface the in

After his ships had suffered both from battle and the storm, the letter of his instructions—the importunity of his officers, and his anxiety to have his ships speedily resisted, might have weighed with him to fail directly for Boston. Whatever were the reasons which induced his adoption of that measure, the Americans were greatly dissatisfied. They complained that they had incurred

pressions made by his late failure at New-York. Or he might have thought it imprudent to stake his whole sleet

within an harbour possessed by his enemies.

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he 22d, and th quedoc, t hey urge bour, b afure, an d to go His office ion again orders (of Ge r reportin was draw n Sulliva r, Ezeki on Love gainst th ory to th f his mo n, and do

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reat expence and danger, under the prospect of the most 1778. ffective co-operation --- that depending thereon, they had isfqued their lives on an island, where without naval proection, they were exposed to particular danger .--- That n this fituation, they were first deserted, and afterwards otally abandoned, at a time, when by perfevering in the riginal plan, they had well grounded hopes of speedy access. Under these apprehensions, the discontented nilitia went home in fuch crowds, that the regular arby which remained, was in danger of being cut off from retreat. In these embarrassing circumstances, General ullivan extricated himself with judgment and ability. le began to fend off his heavy artillery and baggage August. n the 26th, and retreated from his lines on the night f the 28th. It had been that day resolved in a counil of war, to remove to the north end of the island--prtify their camp, secure a communication with the nain, and hold the ground till it could be known whether he French fleet would return to their affistance. larquis de la Fayette by desire of his associates set off or Boston, to request the speedy return of the French eet. To this Count D'Estaing would not consent, but e made a spirited offer to lead the troops under his ommand, and co-operate with the American land forces gainst Rhode-Island.

Sullivan retreated with great order, but he had not een five hours at the north end of the island, when his aps Coun roops were fired upon by the British, who had pursued ace the im on discovering their retreat. The pursuit was made y two parties and on two roads, to one was opposed whole fleet ol. Henry B. Livingston, to the other John Laurens, id de camp to Gen. Washington, and each of them had command of light troops. In the first instance, these ortunity of ght troops were compelled by fuperior numbers to give directly for breed they gave their pursuers a check, and at length equified them. By degrees the action became in some espects general, and near 1200 Americans were engagdincurred.

The loss on each fide was between two and three great undred. speedily re ay, but they kept up a retreating fire. On being rein-

Lord Howe's fleet with Sir Henry Clinton and about

1778. 4000 troops on board, being feen off the coast, General

Sullivan concluded immediately to evacuate Rhode-Island. As the centries of both armies were within 400 yards of each other, the greatest caution was necessary. To cover the defign of retreating, the shew of refistence and Aug. 30. continuance on the island was kept up. The retreat was made in the night, and mostly completed by twelve Towards the last of it the Marqus de la Fayette returned from Boston. He had rode thither from Rhode-Island, a distance of near 70 miles in 7 hours, and returned in fix and a half. Anxious to partake in the engagement, his mortification was not little at being out of the way on the day before. He was in time to bring of the picquets, and other parties that covered the retreat of the American army. This he did in excellent order. Not a man was left behind, nor was the fmallest article lost.

The bravery and good conduct which John Lauren displayed on this occasion, were excelled by his republican magnanimity, in declining a military commission which was conferred on him, by the representatives of his country. Congress resolved, that he should be presented with a continental commission, of Lieut. Colonel, in teltimony of the fense which they entertained of his patriotic and spirited services, and of his brave conduct in several actions, particularly in that of Rhode-Island on the

29th of August.

On the next day he wrote to Congress a letter, expressing "his gratitude for the unexpected honor which they were pleased to confer on him, and of the satisfaction it would have afforded him, could he have accepted it without injuring the rights of the officers in the line of the army, and doing an evident injustice to his colleagues, in the family of the commander in chief. That having been a spectator of the convultions occasioned in the army by disputes of rank, he held the tranquillity of it too dear, to be instrumental in disturbing it, and therefore intreated Congress to suppress their resolve, ordering him the commission of Lieut. Colonel, and to accept his sincere thanks for the intended honor."

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With the abortive expedition to Rhode-Island, there was an end to the plans, which were in this first campaign proiected by the allies of Congress, for a co-operation. The Americans had been intoxicated with hopes of the most decifive advantages, but in every instance they were disappointed. Lord Howe with an inferiority of force, not only preserved his own fleet, but counteracted and defeated all the views and attempts of Count D'Estaing. French fleet gained no direct advantages for the Americans, yet their arrival was of great service to their cause. Besides deranging the plans of the British, it carried conviction to their minds, that his most Christian Majesty was ferioully disposed to support them. The good will of their new allies was manifested to the Americans, and though it had failed in producing the effects expected from it, the failure was charged to winds, weather, and unavoidable incidents. Some cenfured Count D'Estaing, but while they attempted to confole themselves, by throwing blame on him, they felt and acknowledged their obligation to the French nation, and were encouraged to persevere in the war, from the hope that better fortune would attend their future co-operation.

Sir Henry Clinton finding that the Americans had left Rhode-Island, returned to New-York, but directed Gen. Grey to proceed to Bedford and the neighbourhood, On reachwhere feveral American privateers reforted. ing the place of their destination the General's party landed, and in a few hours destroyed about 70 fail of shipping, besides a number of small craft. They also burnt magazines, wharfs, stores, warehouses, vessels on the stocks, and a considerable number of dwelling houses. The buildings burned in Bedford, were estimated to be The other articles destroyed worth £20,000 sterling. were worth much more. The royal troops proceeded to Martha's vineyard. There they destroyed a few vessels, and made a requisition of the militia arms, the public money, 300 oxen and 2000 sheep, which was complied with.

A similar expedition under the command of Capt. Ferguson, was about the same time undertaken against Little 1778.

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1778. Egg-Harbour, at which place the Americans had a number of privateers and prizes, and also some falt-works. ral of the vessels got off but all that were found were de-Previous to the embarkation of the British ftroyed. from Egg-Harbour for New-York, Capt. Ferguson with 250 men, furprifed and put to death about fifty of a party of the Americans, who were posted in the vicinity. The attack being made in the night, little or no quarter was given.

> The loss sustained by the British in these several excursions was trifling, but the advantage was considerable, from the supplies they procured, and the check which

was given to the American privateers.

One of the most disastrous events, which occurred at this period of the campaign, was the furprise and massacre of an American regiment of light dragoons, commanded by Lieut. Col. Baylor. While employed in a detatched fituation, to intercept and watch a British foraging party, they took up their lodging in a barn near Taa-The officer, who commanded the party which furprised them, was Major Gen. Grey. He acquired the name of the "No flint General" from his common practice of ordering the men, under his command, to take the flints out of their muskets, that they might be confined to the use of their bayonets. A party of militia, which had been stationed on the road, by which the British advanced, quitted their post, without giving any notice to This diforderly conduct was the occasion Col. Baylor. of the difaster which followed. Grey's men proceeded with fuch filence and address, that they cut off a serjeant's patrol without noise, and surrounded old Taapan without being discovered. They then rushed in upon Baylor's regiment, while they were in a profound fleep. Incapable of defence or refistance, cut off from every prospect of felling their lives dear, the furprifed dragoons fued for quarters. Unmoved by their supplications, their adverfaries appled the bayonet and continued its repeated thrufts, while objects could be found, in which any figns of life appeared. A few escaped, and others, after having received from five to eleven bayonet wounds in the trunk of the

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the body, were restored, in a course of time, to perfect 1778. health. Baylor himself was wounded, but not dangeroully: He loft, in killed, wounded and taken, 67 privates out of 104. About 40 were made prisoners. These were indebted, for their lives, to the humanity of one of Grey's captains, who gave quarters to the whole fourth troop, though contrary to the orders of his superior officers. The circumstance of the attack being made in the night, when neither order nor discipline can be observed, may apologise in some degree, with men of a cerain description, for this bloody scene. It cannot be maintained, that the laws of war require that quarters hould be given in fimilar affaults, but the lovers of mankind must ever contend, that the laws of humanity are of superior obligation to those of war. The truly brave will spare when resistance ceases, and in every case where can be done with fafety. The perpetrators of such acions may justly be denominated the enemies of refined ociety. As far as their example avails, it tends to areft the growing humanity of modern times, and to reive the barbarism of Gothic ages. On these principles, he massacre of Col. Baylor's regiment was the subject of buch complaint. The particulars of it were afcertained, y the oaths of fundry credible witnesses, taken before ov. Livingston of Jersey, and the whole was submitted the judgment of the public.

In the summer of this year, an expedition was underken against East-Florida. This was resolved upon, with 1778. edouble view of protecting the State of Georgia from deredation, and of causing a diversion. Gen. Robert Howe. ho conducted it, had under his command about 2000 en, a few hundred of which were continental troops, d the remainder militia of the States of South-Carolina d Georgia. They proceeded as far as St. Mary's rir, and without any opposition of consequence. is place, the British had erected a fort, which, in comment to Tonyn, governor of the province, was called his name. On the approach of Gen. Howe, they deoyed this fort, and after some flight skirmishing, reated towards St. Augustine. The season was more fa-

Oct. 5.

1778. Egg-Harbour, at which place the Americans had a number of privateers and prizes, and also some falt-works. ral of the vessels got off but all that were found were destroyed. Previous to the embarkation of the British from Egg-Harbour for New-York, Capt. Ferguson with 250 men, furprifed and put to death about fifty of a party of the Americans, who were posted in the vicinity. The attack being made in the night, little or no quarter was given.

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the body, were restored, in a course of time, to perfect 1778. health. Baylor himself was wounded, but not dangeroully: He loft, in killed, wounded and taken, 67 privates out of 104. About 40 were made prisoners. These were indebted, for their lives, to the humanity of one of Grey's captains, who gave quarters to the whole fourth troop, though contrary to the orders of his superior officers. The circumstance of the attack being made in the night, when neither order nor discipline can be obferved, may apologise in some degree, with men of a certain description, for this bloody scene. It cannot be maintained, that the laws of war require that quarters should be given in fimilar affaults, but the lovers of mankind must ever contend, that the laws of humanity are of superior obligation to those of war. The truly brave will spare when resistance ceases, and in every case where t can be done with fafety. The perpetrators of such acions may justly be denominated the enemies of refined ociety. As far as their example avails, it tends to areft the growing humanity of modern times, and to reive the barbarism of Gothic ages. On these principles, he massacre of Col. Baylor's regiment was the subject of nuch complaint. The particulars of it were ascertained, y the oaths of fundry credible witnesses, taken before Gov. Livingston of Jersey, and the whole was submitted o the judgment of the public.

In the fummer of this year, an expedition was underken against East-Florida. This was resolved upon, with 1778. he double view of protecting the State of Georgia from deredation, and of causing a diversion. Gen. Robert Howe, ho conducted it, had under his command about 2000 en, a few hundred of which were continental troops, nd the remainder militia of the States of South-Carolina nd Georgia. They proceeded as far as St. Mary's rir, and without any opposition of consequence. is place, the British had erected a fort, which, in comiment to Tonyn, governor of the province, was called his name. On the approach of Gen. Howe, they deoyed this fort, and after some slight skirmishing, reeated towards St. Augustine. The season was more fa-

1778.

tal to the Americans than any opposition they experient ced from their enemies. Sickness and death raged to such a degree that an immediate retreat became necessary; but before this was effected, they lost nearly one fourth of their whole number.

The royal commissioners having failed in their attempts to induce the Americans to resume the character of Bris tish subjects, and the successive plans of co-operation between the new allies, having also failed, a solemn paul It would feem as if the commissioners indulged a hope, that the citizens of the United States, on find ing a disappointment of their expectation from the French would reconfider and accept the offers of Great-Britain Full time was given, both for the circulation of the manifesto, and for observing its effects on the publi mind, but no overtures were made to them from an quarter. The year was drawing near to a close, before any interesting expedition was undertaken. With th new æra, a new system was introduced. Hitherto it conquest of the states had been attempted by proceeding from north to fouth: But that order was hencefore inverted, and the fouthern states became the princip theatre, on which the British conducted their offensi operations. Georgia being one of the weakest states the union, and at the same time abounding in provision was marked out as the first object of renewed warfan Lieut. Colonel Campbell, an officer of known course and ability embarked from New-York, for Savannah, will a force of about 2000 men, under the convoy of some this of war commanded by commodore Hyde Parker. To make more fure of fuccess in the enterprise, Major Gen. Prevo who commanded the royal forces in East-Florida, was d rected to advance with them into the fouthern extremity Georgia. The fleet that failed from New-York, in bout three weeks effected a landing near the mouth of

1778. Nov. 27.

Dec. 23. way of fix hundred yards in length, with a ditch of each fide, led through a fwamp. A body of the British light infantry moved forward along this causeway. Of their advance they received a heavy fire from a fine

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party under Capt. Smith, posted for the purpose of impeding their passage. Capt. Cameron was killed, but the British made their way good, and compelled Capt. Smith to retreat. General Howe, the American officer to whom the defence of Georgia was committed, took his station on the main road, and posted his little army, confisting of about 600 continentals and a few hunfred militia, between the landing-place and the town of Savannah, with the river on his left and a morass n front. This disposition announced great difficulties to be overcome, before the Americans could be difodgd. While Col. Campbell was making the necessary arrangements for this purpose, he received intelligence from a negro, of a private path through the swamp, on the right of the Americans, which lay in fuch a lituation that, he British troops might march through it unobserved. Sir ames Baird, with the light infantry, was directed to avail himself of this path, in order to turn the right wing of the Americans and attack their rear. As foon as it was fupposed that Sir James Baird had cleared his passage, the British in front of the Americans, were directed to advance nd engage. Howe, finding himself attacked in the rear as is well as in the front, ordered an immediate retreat. The British pursued with great execution: Their victory was complete. Upwards of 100 of the Americans were killed. Thirty eight officers, 415 privates, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort with its ammunition and stores, the hipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions with he capital of Georgia, were all, in the space of a few hours in the possession of the conquerors. The broken emains of the American army retreated up the river Savannah for several miles, and then took shelter by crossing into South-Carolina. Agreeably to instructions, Gen. Prevost had marched from East-Florida, about the ame time that the embarkation took place from New-York. After encountering many difficulties, the king's troops from St. Augustine reached the inhabited parts of Georgia, and there heard the welcome tidings of the arrival and fuccefs of Col. Campbell. Savannah having fallen, the fort at Sunbury surrendered. Gen. Prevost marched to Savannah, and took the command of the combined Vol. II. N

1778.

forces from New-York and St. Augustine. Previous to his arrival, a proclamation had been iffued, to encourage the inhabitants to come in and submit to the conquerors, with promises of protection, on condition that with their

arms they would support royal government.

Lieur. Col. Campbell acted with great policy, in fecuring the fubmission of the inhabitants. He did more in a short time, and with comparatively a few men, towards the re-establishment of the British interest, than all the general officers who had preceded him. He not only extirpated military opposition, but subverted for some time every trace of republican government, and paved the way for the re-establishment of a royal legislature. Georgia foon after the reduction of its capital exhibited a fingular spectacle. It was the only state of the union, in which after the declaration of independence, a legislative body was convened under the authority of the crown of Great Britain. The moderation and prudence of Lieut. Col. Campbell were more fucefsfull in reconciling the minds of the citizens to their former constitution, than, the severe measures which had been generally adopted by other British commanders. The errors of the first years of the war forced on Con-

gress some useful reforms, in the year 1778. The infusficiency of the provision, made for the support of the officers of their army, had induced the resignation of between two and three hundred of them, to the great in jury of the service. From a conviction of the justice and policy of making commissions valuable, and from respect to the warm, but disinterested recommendations of Gen Washington, Congress resolved "That half-pay should be allowed to their officers, for the term of seven years after the expiration of their service." This was, after wards, extended to the end of their lives. And finally that was commuted for full pay, for sive years. Responsitions were afterwards rare, and the States reaped to benefit of experienced officers continuing in service, to the war was ended.

April, 1778.

A fystem of more regular discipline was introduced into the American army, by the industry, abilities and

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ficious regulations of Baron de Steuben a most excellent disciplinarian, who had served under the king of Prussia. A very important reform took place in the medical department, by appointing different officers, to discharge the directing and purveying business of the military nospitals, which had been before united in the same hands. Dr. Rush was principally instrumental, in effecting this beneficial alteration. Some regulations, which had been adopted for limiting the prices of commodities, being found not only impracticable, but injurious, were aboished.

A few detached events, which could not be introduced without interrupting the narrative of the great events of the campaign, shall close this chapter.

Cap. James Willing, in the fervice of the United States, arrived, with a few men from Fort-Pitt, at the Natches, Feb. 19. British settlement in West-Florida. He sent out paries, who, without any resistance, made the inhabitants prisoners. Articles of agreement were entered into, beween them and Capt. Willing, by which they promised to observe a neutrality in the present contest, and in reurn it was engaged, that their property should be unnolested.

The Randolph, an American frigate of 36 guns and Mar. 7. of men, commanded by Capt. Biddle, having failed on cruise from Charleston, fell in with the Yarmouth of 4 guns, and engaged her in the night. In about a parter of an hour, the Randolph blew up. Four men nly were faved, upon a piece of her wreck. These had ublifted for four days on nothing but rain water, which hey fucked from a piece of blanket. On the 5th day, ap. Vincent of the Yarmouth, though in chase of a ship, n discovering them, suspended the chase and took them n board. Capt. Biddle, who perished on board the Ranolph, was univerfally lamented. He was in the prime f life, and had excited high expectations of future useulness to his country, as a bold and skillful naval offier.

Major Talbot took the British schooner Pigot, of 8 Oct. 29. velve pounders, as she lay on the eastern side of Rhode-Island.

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Island. The Major, with a number of troops on board a small vessel, made directly for the Pigot in the night and fustaining the fire of her marines, referved his own till he had run his jibb-boom through her fore-shrouds He then fired fome cannon, and threw in a volley of musquetry, loaded with bullets and buck-shot, and immediately boarded her. The captain made a gallant ro fistance, but he was not seconded by his crew. Major Talbot foon gained undisturbed possession, and carried of his prize in fafety. Congress, as a reward of his merit presented him with the commission of Lieutenant Colo

C H A P. XVII.

Campaign of 1779.

HROUGHOUT the year 1779, the Britis feem to have aimed at little more, in the States a the northward of Carolina, than diffress and depredate Having publicly announced their refolution making "The colonies of as little avail as possible their new connections", they planned fundry expedit ons, on this principle.

One of these consisting of both a naval and land form was committed to Sir George Collyer and Gen. Mathem who made a descent on Virginia. They sailed for Port mouth, and on their arrival took possession of that de The remains of Norfolk on the opp fite fide of the river, fell of course into their hands. The Americans burned some of their own vessels, but other were made prizes by the invaders. The British guan marched 18 miles in the night, and arriving at Suffolk morning proceeded to the destruction of vessels, nar stores, and of a large magazine of provisions, which be been deposited in that place. A similar destruction carried on at Kemp's landing, Shepherds-gosport, Ta ners creek, and other places in the vicinity. The fright and armed veffels were employed on the fame build

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long the margin of the rivers. Three thousand hog- 1778. heads of tobacco were taken at Portsmouth. Every ouse in Suffolk was burnt except the church, and one welling house. The houses of several private gentlemen the country, shared the same fate. Above 130 vessels ere either destroyed or taken. All that were upon the locks were burned, and every thing relative to the buildng or fitting of ships, was either carried off or destroyd. The fleet and army after demolishing fort Nelfon, nd fetting fire to the store-houses, and other public Colo buildings in the dockyard at Gosport, embarked from Virginia, and returned with their prizes and booty fafe New-York, in the same month in which they had left t. This expedition into Virginia distressed a number of inhabitants, and enriched the British forces, but was f no real fervice to the royal cause. It was presumed hat by involving the citizens in losses and distress, they Britishing to a power, against which they had not the means states u f defending themselves: But the temper of the times was epredation of the American mind, that property had comparativeoffible to loft its value. It was fashionable to suffer in the cause
expedition of the American mind, that property had comparativeoffible to loft its value. It was fashionable to suffer in the cause
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expedition of the American mind, that property had comparativeoffible to lost its value. It was fashionable to suffer in the cause
expedition of the American mind, that property had comparativeto suffer in the cause of the c offes, with as much pride as others gloried in their poseffions. The British supposing the Americans to be inMathem
uenced, by the considerations which bias men in the
inguid scenes of tranquil life, and not reflecting on the
that de
acrisices which enthusiastic patriotism is willing to make,
the opposite of the consideration of the more exensively they carried on this mode of warfare, the more
bistacles they created to the re-union of the empire. In
the guan
bout five weeks after the termination of the expedition
of Virginia, a similar one was projected against the exels, not offed margin of Connecticut. Gov. Tryon was appointwhich be to the command of about 2600 land forces, employelstion of the transports which conveyed these troops, were coverthe frigg of by a suitable number of armed vessels, commanded by
ir George Collyer. They proceeded from New-York, July 5by

1779.

by the way of Hell-gate, and landed at Easts Haven, The royal commanders made an address to the inhabitants, in which they invited them to return to their duty and allegiance, and promised protection to all who should remain peaceably in their usual place of residence, except the civil and military officers of the government. It also stated "that their property lay still within the graph of that power, whose lenity had persisted in its mild and noble efforts, though branded with the most unworthy imputation. That the existence of a single house on their defenceless coast, ought to be a constant reproof of their ingratitude. That they who lay so much in the British power, afforded a striking monument of their mercy, and therefore ought to set the first example of returning to their allegiance."

One of the many addresses, from which the above extrad is taken, was fent, by a flag to Col. Whiting of the militia near Fairfield. The Col. was allowed an hour for his answer, but he had scarcely time to read it before the town was in flames. He nevertheless returned the following answer "Connecticut, having nobly dared to take up arms against the cruel despotism of Great Britain, and the flames having preceded the answer to your flag, they will perfift to oppose to the utmost, the power exerted a gainstinjured innocence". The British marched from their landing to New-Haven. The town on their entering it was delivered up to promiscuous plunder, a few instance of protection excepted. The inhabitants were stripped of their houshold furniture and other moveable property The harbour and water fide was covered with feather which were discharged from opened beds. An age citizen who labored under a natural inability of speed had his tongue cut out by one of the royal army. After perpetrating every species of enormity, but that of burn ing houses, the invaders suddenly re-imbarked and pro ceeded by water to Fairfield. The militia of that place and the vicinity, posted themselves at the court-hou green, and gave confiderable annoyance to them, as the were advancing, but foon retreated to the height back the town. On the approach of the British the town w

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evacuated by most of its inhabitants. A few women remained with the view of faving their property. They magined, that their fex would protect them. They also reposed confidence in an enemy who they knew had been formerly famed for humanity and politeness, but they bitterly repented their prefumption. Parties of the royal army entered the deferted houses of the inhabitants, broke open desks, trunks, closets and chefts, and took every thing of value that came in their way. They robbed the women of their buckles, rings, bonnets, aprons and handkerchiefs. They abused them with the foulest anguage, threatened their lives, and prefented the bayonets to their breasts. A sucking infant was plundered of part of its cloathing, while the bayonet was prefented o the breast of its mother. Towards evening, they becan to burn the houses, which they had previously pluntered. The women begged Gen. Tryon to spare the own. Mr. Sayre, the episcopal minister, who had sufferd for his attachment to the royal cause, joined the wonen in their requests, but their joint supplications were lifregarded. They then begged, that a few houses might be spared for a general shelter. This was at first denied, out at length Tryon confented to fave the buildings of Mr. Burr and of Mr. Elliot, and also said, that the houses. or public worship should be spared. After his departure on the next morning with the main body, the rear guard onfisting of German yaugers fet fire to every thing which Tryon had spared, but on their departure the inhabitants xtinguished the flames, and faved some of the houses. The militia were joined by numbers from the country which successively came in to their aid, but they were too ew to make effectual opposition.

The British in this excursion, also burned East-Haen, and the greatest part of Green's farms, and the burishing town of Norwalk. A considerable number of hips, either finished or on the stocks, with whale-boats and a large amount of stores and merchandise, were detroyed. Particular accounts of these devastations were, a short time, transmitted by authority to Congress. It is these it appeared that they were burnt at Norwalk

1779.

1778. two houses of public worship, 80 dwelling houses, 8; barns, 22 stores, 17 shops, 4 mills and 5 vessels; And at Fairfield two houses of public worthip, 15 dwelling houses, 11 barns and several stores. There were at the fame time a number of certificates transmitted to Gen Washington, in which fundry persons of veracity bor witness on oath to various acts of brutality, rapine and cruelty, committed on aged perfous, women and prisoners Congress, on receiving satisfactory attestation of the ravages of the British in this and other similar expeditions July 19. resolved " To direct their marine committee to take the most effectual measures, to carry into execution their ma nifesto of October 30th 1778, by burning or destroying the towns belonging to the enemy in Great Britain or the West-Indies;" but their resolve was never carried into de fect.

The elder citizens of the United States, who had grown up with habits of love and attachment to the British me tion, felt the keenest sensations of regret, when they contrafted the years 1759 and 1779. The former was their glory, when in the days of their youth, they were dispol-'ed to boast of the honors of their common country, but the latter filled them with diffres, not only for what the fuffered, but for the degradation of a country they revered as the natal foil of their forefathers, The one enobled the British name with the conquest of Crown Point, Ofwego, Montreal, Quebec and the whole proving of Canada. The other was remarkable only, for the burning of magazines, store-houses, dock-yards, the towns of Fairfield, and Norwalk, and for the general di tress of a defenceless peasantry.

The fires and destruction which accompanied this exp dition, were severely censured by the Americans, and apologised for by the British in a very unsatisfactory man The latter in their vindication, alleged that houses which they had burned gave shelter to the Ame ricans, while they fired from them, and on other occas ons concealed their retreat.

Tryon, who was a civil governor as well as a general undertook the justification of the measure, on principle hre pre ete

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f policy. "I should be very forry" said he "if the estruction of these villages would be thought less reconileable with humanity, than the love of my country, ny duty to the king, and the laws of arms. The usurpers have professedly placed their hopes of severing the emire, in avoiding decisive actions—upon the waste of the British treasures, and upon the escape of their own proerty during the protracting of the war. Their power supported by the general dread of their tyranny and hreats, practised to inspire a credulous multitude, with presumptuous considence in our forbearance; I wish to letect this delusion." These devastations were the sub-ect of an elegant poem, written on the spot a few days ster, by Col. Humphries.

While the British were proceeding in these desolating perations, Gen. Washington was called upon for contiental troops, but he could spare very few. He durst ot detach largely, as he apprehended that one defign of he British in these movements was to draw off a proortion of his army from West-Point, to favour an inended attack on that important post. General Parsons, hough closely connected with Connecticut, and though rom his small force he was unable to make successful pposition to the invaders, yet instead of pressing Geneal Washington for a large detachment of continental roops, wrote to him as follows, "The British may proably diffress the country exceedingly, by the ravages they rill commit, but I would rather see all the towns on the oast of my country in flames, than that the enemy should offess West-Point."

The inhabitants feared much more than they sufferd. They expected that the whole margin of their county, 120 miles in extent, would suffer the fate of Faireld and Norwalk. The season of the year added much otheir difficulties, as the close attention of the farmers otheir harvesting could not be omitted, without hazardig their subsistence. These fears were not of long dution. In about ten days after the landing of the Brish troops, an order was issued for their immediate resum to New-York. This they effected, in a short time, Vol. II.

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and with a loss so inconsiderable, that in the whole ex pedition, it did not exceed 150 men.

While the British were successfully making these deful. tory operations, the American army was incapable of co The former, having by means of vering the country. their superior marine force, the command of the nume rous rivers, bays and harbours of the United States, had it in their power to make descents, where they pleased with an expedition that could not be equalled by the Had Gen. Washington divided American land forces. his army, conformably to the wishes of the invaded citizens, he would have subjected his whole force to be cut up August. in detail. It was therefore his uniform practice, to rifque no more by way of covering the country than was confistent with the general safety.

His army was posted at some distance from British head quarters in New York, and on both fides of the North The rear thereof confisting of 300 infantry and 150 cavalry, under the command of Col. Anthony Walton White, patroled constantly, for several months, in front of the British lines, and kept a constant watch on the Sound and on the North river. This corps had fundry skirmishes with parties of the British, and was particularly useful in checking their excursions, and in procuring and communicating intelligence of their move ments.

About this time, Gen. Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable command at Reading in Connecticut, when on a visit to his out-post at Horse-Neck, was attacked by Gov. Tryon, with about 1500 men Gen. Putnam had only a picket of 150 men, and two iron field pieces without horses or drag-ropes. He how ever planted his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting house, and by several fires retarded the advancing enemy, and continued to make opposition till h perceived the enemy's horse, supported by the infantry were about to charge. Gen. Putnam after ordering the picket to provide for their fafety, by retiring to a fwam inacceffible to horse, plunged down the precipice at the church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, com-Foled

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ofed of nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. The dragoons stopped hort, without venturing down the abrupt declivity, and before they got round the brow of the hill, Putnam was ar enough beyond their reach; of the many balls that vere fired at him, all miffed except one, which went hrough his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, and hayng strengthened his picket with some militia, faced about nd purfued Governor Tryon on his return.

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The campaign of 1779, though barren of important vents, was distinguished by one of the most gallant enerprises, which took place in the course of the war. This was the capture of Stoney-Point, on the North river. Gen. Wayne, who had the honor of conducting his enterprise, set out at the head of a strong deatchment of the most active infantry in the American army July 15. at noon, and completed a march of about 14 miles, over bad roads, by eight o'clock in the evening. The detachment being then within a mile and a half of its object, was halted and formed into columns. The General, with a few of his officers, advanced and reconnoitred the works. At half past eleven, the whole moved forward to the attack. The van of the right, confisting of 150 volunteers under the command of Lieut. Col. Fleury, advanced with unloaded muskets, and fixed bayonets. These were preceded by 20 picked men, who were particularly instructed to remove the abbatis and other obstructions. The van of the left was led by Major btewart, and advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. It was also preceded by a similar forlorn hope. The General placed himself at the head of the right column, and gave the most pointed orders not to fire, but to depend folely on the bayonet. The two columns directed their attacks to opposite points of the works, while a detachment engaged the attention of the garrison, by a feint in their front. The approaches were more difficult than had been apprehended. The works were defended by a deep morafs, which was also, at that time, overflowed by the tide. Neither the morass, the double row of abbatis, nor the ftrength of the works, damped the ardor

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1779. of the affailants. In the face of a most tremendous fired musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-shot, the forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, throug every obstacle, until both columns met in the centre the works, at nearly the fame instant. Gen. Wayne he passed the last abbatis, was wounded in the head by musket ball, but nevertheless insisted on being carrie forward, adding as a reason for it, that if he died h wished it might be in the fort." Lieutenants Gibbon and Knox, who led the forlorn hope, escaped unhun ure although the first lost 17 men out of 20, and the la Stor nearly as many. The killed and wounded of the Ame place ricans amounted to 98. The killed of the garrifor were 63, and the number of their prisoners 543. Tw. Poin flags, two flandards, 15 pieces of ordnance, and a confiderable quantity of military stores, fell into the hand wish of the conquerors. The vigor and spirit, with which while while this enterprise was conducted, was matter of triumpht Maj the Americans. Congress gave their thanks to Gen. Wash Hes ington "For the vigilance, wisdom and magnanimin he with which he had conducted the military operations of ake the States, and which were among many other fignal in the states manifested in his orders for the above enterprise. They also gave thanks to Gen. Weyne, and ordered thest medal, emblematical of the action, to be firuck and one non of gold to be presented to him. They directed a filve gold one to be presented to Lieut. Col. Fleury, and also to be Major Stewart. At the fame time, they passed genera very resolutions in honor of the officers and men, but partinar cularly defignating Lieut. Col. Fleury, Major Stewart Luc Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox. To the two latter and side also to Mr. Archer, the General's volunteer aid-de-camp her they gave the rank of Captain. The clemency shew to the vanquished, was universally applauded. The cult yatoms of war, and the recent barbarities at Fairfield and hu Norwalk, would have been an apology for the conquer by t ors, had they put the whole garrifon to the fword, but ach the affailants, no less generous than brave, ceased to de en stroy as soon as their adversaries ceased to resist. Upon and the capture of Stoney-Point, the victors turned its artifican len

is fired ery against Verplank's-Point, and fired upon it with such 1779. ffect, that the shipping in its vicinity cut their cables nd fell down the river. As foon as the news of thefe entre vents reached New-York, preparations were instantly made to relieve the latter post and to recover the former. t by no means accorded with the cautious prudence of Gen. Washington, to risque an engagement for either or or both of them. He therefore removed the cannon nd stores, destroyed the works, and evacuated the capured post. Sir Henry Clinton regained possession of the la Stoney-Point, on the third day after its capture, and he Ame placed in it a strong garrison.

The fuccessful enterprise of the Americans at Stoney-Tw Point, was speedily followed by another, which equalled it d a con in boldness of design. This was the surprise of the Brihe hand wish garrison at Powles-Hook, opposite to New-York, th which was effected by Major Lee with about 350 men. July 19 iumpha Major Sutherland the commandant, with a number of Hessians got off safe to a small block-house on the left of he fort, but about 30 of his men were killed and 160 aken prisoners. The loss of the Americans was inconsisting all lerable. Major Lee in conformity to the orders he had exprise, made an immediate retreat, without waiting to be all orders as the constant of d a film of him as a reward "for his prudence, address and bracery." They also passed resolutions applauding his humanity, and expressing their high sense of the good consistence. atter and iderable donative in money, to be distributed among de-camp hem.

These advantages were more than counterbalanced, The culty an unfuccessful attempt, made by the state of Massa-field and husetts, on a British post at Penobscot. Col. Macleane conquer y the direction of Sir Henry Clinton, landed with a de-ord, but achment of 650 men from Halifax, on the banks of Jun. 16. ed to de enobscot river, in the eastern confines of New-England, nd proceeded foon after to construct a fort in a well choits artik in fituation. This occasioned an alarm at Boston.

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1779. counteract the establishment of the post, vigorous measures were resolved upon. That armed vessels, transports and failors, might be fecured for an expedition, which was immediately projected for this purpole, an embargo for 40 days was laid by the state of Massachusetts, on all their shipping. A confiderable armament confisting of 18 armed vessels besides transports, was fitted out with extraordinary expedition, and put under the command of Com. Saltonstal. The largest vessel in this fleet, was the Warren of 32 guns, 18 and 12 pounders. The others varied from 24 to 12 guns. A body of land forces command. ed by Gen. Lovel, embarked on this expedition. On the

July 25. 25th of July, the American fleet confisting of 37 fail appeared off Penobscot. Col. Macleane had four days before gained information, of what was intended against him. This induced him to redouble his exertions in strengthening his fort, which was in an unfinished state. Two of the bastions were untouched. The remaining two were in no part above 4 or 5 feet high. The ditch was only about 3 feet deep. There was no platform laid, nor any artillery mounted. The American general on his landing, fummoned the colonel to furrender, which being refused, he proceeded to creet a battery at the distance of 750 yards. A cannonading commenced, and was kept

up for about a fortnight, but without any confiderable

effect. While the besiegers were making preparation for

an affault, which they had in immediate contemplation,

Sir George Collyer appeared full in view, with a fquadron for the relief of the garrison. He had failed from Aug. 3. Sandy-Hook, on hearing of the intended attack on Col Macleane's party, and in about 11 days arrived in the river Penobscot. His marine force consisted of the Raifonable of 64 guns and five frigates. The Americans at first made a shew of resistance, but they intended no more than to give the transports time to move up the river, that the troops might have an opportunity of landing, and making their escape. The superior force and weight of metal of the Raifonable was irrefiftible, and the escape of the Americans was impractica-

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chase on the other took place. Sir George destroyed and took 17 or 18 armed veffels. The American foldiers and failors had to return a great part of their way by land, and to explore their route through thick woods.

While the war languished as to great objects in the country where it originated, it was raging on a new element, and involving distant countries in its wide spreading flame. Hostilities between the fleets of France and Great-Britain, were carrying on in both the Indies and in the European feas, as well as on the coast of America. His most Catholic Majesty was also, about this time, induced to take a decided part with France against Great-Britain.

To the furprise of many, the Marquis D'Almodovar Jun. 16: the Spanish ambassador delivered a manifesto to lord Viscount Weymouth, amounting to a declaration of war against Great-Britain. This event had often been predicted by the minority in the British parliament, but disbelieved by the ministry. The latter reasoned "that Spain could have no interest in joining their adversaries .-- That she had colonies of her own, and could not et fo bad an example to them, as to give any countenance to the Americans. It was also said that Spain was naturally attached to Great-Britain, and unable to enter nto war". They were fo far imposed upon by their eagerness to effect the conquest of the United States, as to believe that to be true which they wished to be so. The event proved that the politics of sovereign powers, are not reducible to fixed principles. Sometimes one interest tashes with another, and it is not always the case that he strongest preponderates. Whether the influence of he French counfels, or the prospect of recovering Gibalter, Jamaica and the two Floridas, or the pressure of ecent injuries determined the court of Spain to adopt his measure it is impossible with certainty to decide, but ircumstances make it probable, that the hope of regainng Gibraltar and Jamaica, was the principal inducenent.

The fituation of Great Britain, was at this time tru'y liftreffing. She was weakened and distracted in a dohestic on ctest, in which victory produced no advantages,

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1779. but defeat all its natural effects. In the midst of this wasting contest, in which her ability to reduce her revol. ted colonies, though without foreign aid was doubtful the was fuddenly involved in a new and much more dangerous war with one of the greatest powers in Europe, At this very time while she was engaged in this double war. fare, against old friends and old enemies, his most Catho. lic Majesty added his force to that of her numerous foes

> In this fituation a direliction of the American war was recommended by fome leading characters in the nation, but every proposition of that kind was over-ruled, and affurances from both houses of Parliament, were given to his Majesty "to support him in carrying on the war a-

gainst all his enemies".

From these events which only affected the United-States as far as they increased the embarrassments of Great Britain, I return to relate the transactions which took place within their own limits. In the year 1779, though the war was carried on for little more than diffress or depredation in the northern states, the re-establishment of British government was seriously attempted in Carolina and Georgia. After the reduction of Savannah, a great part of the state of Georgia was restored to the King's peace. The royal army in that quarter was strengthened by a numerous re-inforcement from East Florida, and the whole was put under the command of Major Gen The force then in Georgia gave a ferious alarm to the adjacent states. There were at that time but few continental troops in Georgia, or South Carolina, and fcarce any in North-Carolina, as during the late tranquillity in the fouthern states, they had been detached to ferve in the main army commanded by Gen. Washington A body of militia was raifed and fent forward by North Carolina to aid her neighbours. These joined the continental troops, but not till they had retreated out of Georgia, and taken post in South Carolina. Toward the close of the year 1778 Gen. Lincoln, at the request of the delegates of South Carolina, was appointed by Congress, to take the command of their southern army

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This confifted only of a few hundred continentals. To supply the deficiency of regular soldiers, a confiderable body of militia was ordered to join him, but they added much more to his numbers than to his effective force.

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They had not yet learned the implicit obedience necelfary for military operations. Accustomed to activity on their farms, they could not bear the languor of an encampment. Having grown up in habits of freedom and independence, they reluctantly submitted to martial discipline. The royal army at Savannah being reinforced by the junction of the troops from St. Augustine, was in condition to extend their posts. Their first object was to take poffession of Port-Royal, in South-Carolina. Maor Gardiner with two hundred men being detached with this view, landed on the island, but Gen. Moultrie at the head of an equal number of Americans, in which there were only nine regular foldiers, attacked and drove him off it. This advantage was principally gained by two field pieces, which were well ferved by a party of Charlefon militia artillery. The British lost almost all their officers. The Americans had eight men killed and 22 wounded. Among the former, was Lieut. Benjamin Wilkins an artillery officer of great merit, and a citizen of distinguished virtue, whose early fall deprived a numerous family of their chief support. He was the first officer of South-Carolina who lost his life in supporting its independence. This repulse restrained the British from attempting any immediate enterprise to the northward of Savannah, but they fixed posts at Ebenezer, and Augusta, and extended themselves over a great part of Georgia. They also endeavored to strengthen themselves by reinforcements from the tories, in the western lettlements of Georgia and Carolina.

Emissaries were sent among the inhabitants of that description, to encourage them to a general insurrection. They were assured that if they embodied and added their force to that of the King's army in Georgia, they would have such a decided superiority as would make a speedy return to their homes practicable, on their own terms. Several hundreds of them accordingly rendez-

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voused, and set off to join the royal forces at Augusta Among those who called themselves loyalists, there were many of the most infamous characters. Their general complexion was that of a plundering banditti, more followers citous for booty, than for the honor and interest of the royal master. At every period before the war, the west ern wilderness of these States which extended to the Miffiffippi, afforded an afylum for the idle or diforderly who difrelished the restraints of civil society. While the war raged, the demands of militia duty and of taxe contributed much to the peopling of those remote fettle ments, by holding out prospects of exemption from the control of government. Among these people the royal emissaries had successfully planted the standard of loyalty, and of that class was a great proportion of those who in the upper country of the Carolinas and Georgia called themselves the King's friends. They had no fooner embodied and begun their march to join the royal arm at Augusta, than they commenced such a scene of plundering of the defenceless settlements through which they passed, as induced the orderly inhabitants to turn out to oppose them. Col. Pickens, with about 300 men of the South latter character, immediately purfued and came up with them, near Kettle-creek. An action took place, which subject to the state of the st lasted three quarters of an hour. The tories were to our tally routed. About forty of them were killed, and in left that number was their leader Col. Boyd, who had been lits fecretly employed by British authority to collect and head By this action the British were disconcerted The tories were dispersed. Some ran quite off. Other went to their homes, and cast themselves on the merg ua of their country. These were tried by the laws of South le, Carolina for offending against an act called the sedition of act, which had been passed since the revolution for the fer mer curity of the new government. Seventy of them were con- and demned to die, but the fentence was only executed on five of their ringleaders.

As the British extended their posts on the Georgia side of Savannah river, Gen. Lincoln fixed encampments at Black and Swamp, and nearly opposite to Augusta on the Carolina

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re were o Georgia, with the view of limiting the British to the ow country, near the ocean. In the execution of this of the few regular troops, after croffing the river Savannah, he well ook a position on Briar-creek; But in a few days he was to the urprifed by Lieut. Col. Prevost, who having made a cir- May 3. orderly uitous march of about 50 miles, came unexpectedly on While is rear with about 900 men. The militia were thrown of taxe nto confusion, and fled at the first fire. One hundred romth aken. Few had any chance of escaping but by cros-ple the ing the Savannah, in attempting which many were drowndard of d. Of those who got off safe, a great part returned of those ome. The number that rejoined the American camp id not exceed 450 men. The sew continentals under fooner Col. Elbert made a brave resistence, but the survivors of val arm them, with their gallant leader, were at last compelled of plus to furrender. This event deprived Gen. Lincoln of one ich the fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication ben out to ween the British, the Indians, and the tories of North and
n of the South-Carolina.

up with Unexperienced in the art of war, the Americans were e, which abject to those reverses of fortune, which usually attend were to oung foldiers. Unacquainted with military stratagems, and in rescient in discipline, and not thoroughly broken to haand been dits of implicit obedience, they were often furprised, and and head and to learn by repeated misfortunes the necessity of sub-oncerted redination, and the advantages of watchfulness and disciline. Their numbers in the field, to those who are acuainted with European wars, must appear inconsiderale, but such is the difference of the state of society and fedition of the population in the old and new world, that in Anerica, a few hundreds decided objects of equal magniade with those, which in Europe would have called into the field as many thousands. The prize contended for as nothing less than the Sovereignty of three millions people, and of five hundred millions of acres of land, nd yet from the remote fituation of the invading pows, and the thin population of the invaded States, ef-

pecially in the fouthern extreme of the union, this momentous question was materially affected by the confu quences of battles, in which only a few hundreds engaged.

The feries of difasters which had followed the Ame rican arms fince the landing of the British near Savannal occasioned well founded apprehension for the safety of the adjacent States. The militia of South-Carolina wa therefore put on a better footing, and a regiment of a valry was raised. John Rutledge a Carolinian of the most distinguished abilities, was called to the chair of go vernment by an almost unanimous vote, and in imitation of the ancient republic of Rome invested, in conjunc tion with his council, with dictatorial powers. By vin tue of his authority, he convened a large body of the militia near the centre of the State, that they might h in constant readiness to march whithersoever public in vice required. The original plan of penetrating in Georgia was refumed. Part of the American force w stationed on the north side of the Savannah at Purry burgh and Black-swamp, while Gen. Lincoln and the main army croffed into Georgia near Augusta. Gene ral Prevoft availed himself of the critical moment, who the American army had ascended 150 miles towards in fource of the Savannah, and croffed into Carolina on the same river near to its mouth, with about 2400 ma A confiderable body of Indians, whose friendship British had previously secured, were associated with the British on this expedition. The superior British for which croffed Savannah river, foon compelled Gener Moultrie, who was charged with the defence of Soul Carolina, to retire. Lincoln on receiving information these movements, detached 300 of his light troops to inforce Moultrie, but proceeded with the main army wards the capital of Georgia. He was induced to pu fue his original intention, from an idea that Gen. In vost meant nothing more than to divert him by a feint Carolina, and because his marching down on the for fide of the river Savannah, would occasion very littles ditional delay in repairing to its defence. When Lind

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found that Prevolt was seriously pushing for Charleston, he re-croffed the Savannah and purfued him. The British proceeded in their march by the main road near the fea coast, with but little opposition, and in the mean time the Americans retreated before them towards Charleston. Gen. Moultrie, who ably conducted this retreat, had no cavalry to check the advancing foe. Instead of his receiving reinforcements from the inhabitants, as he marched through the country, he was abandoned by many of the militia who went to their homes. Their families and property lay directly in the route of the invading army. The abscence of the main army under Lincoln, the retreat of Moultrie, the plunderings and devastations of the invaders, and above all the dread of the Indian favages which accompanied the royal army, diffused a general panic among the inhabitants. The terror of each individual ablic in became a fource of terror to another. From the influence of these causes, many were induced to apply for British protection. New converts to the royal standard endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with their protectors, by encouraging them to attempt the reduction of Charlefton. Being in their power, they were more anxious to frame intelligence on the idea of what was agreeable, than . of what was true. They represented the inhabitants as being generally tired of the war, and wishing for peace at all events. They also stated that Charleston was incapable of much refistance. These circumstances combined with the facility with which the British marched through the country, induced Gen. Prevost to extend his plan and push for Charleston. Had he designed it at first, and continued his march with the same rapidity with which it was begun, the town would probably have been carried by a coup-de-main, but he halted two or three days when advanced near half the distance In that interval every preparation was made by the South-Carolinians, for the defence of their capital. All the houses in its suburbs were burnt. Lines and abbatis were, in a few days, carried across the peninsula between Ashley and Cooper rivers, and cannon were mounted at proper intervals on its whole extent. Though this visit

of the British, and especially an attack on the land side was unexpected, yet in a few days great preparati ons were made, and a force of 3300 men affembled in Charleston for its defence.

The main body and baggage of the British army, being left on the fouth fide of Ashley river, an advanced May 11. detachment of 900 men, croffed the ferry and appeared before the town, In the mean time Lincoln was marching on as fast as possible, for the relief of Charleston, but as his arrival was doubtful and the crifis hazardous to gain time was a matter of confequence. A whole day was therefore spent in the exchange of flags. Comms. oners from the garrison were instructed "to propose a neutrality during the war between Great Britain and A. merica, and that the question whether the state shall belong to Great Britain, or remain one of the United States, be determined by the treaty of peace between these powers". The British commanders refused this advantage. ous offer, alledging that they did not come in a legislative capacity, and infifted that as the inhabitants and others were in arms, they should surrender prisoners of war. This being refused the garrison prepared for an immediate affault, but this was not attempted. About this time Major Benjamin Huger commanding a party without the lines, was through mistake killed by his countrymen. This was a loss indeed. The liberality, generofity and public spirit, which distinguished him as a citizen, added to great political and military talents, rendered his untimely death the subject of universal regret By his fall the country was deprived of one of its firmel and most useful friends, and the army lost one of its brightest ornaments. Prevost knowing by an intercepted letter, that Lincoln was coming on in his rear, retreated from Charleston, and filed off with his whole ford from the main to the islands near the sea, that he might avoid being between two fires. Both armies encamped in the vicinity of Charleston, watching each others motion Jun. 20. till the 20th of June, when an attack was made with a bout 1200 Americans on fix or 700 of the British, advantageously posted at Stono ferry. The latter had re-

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doubts with a line of communication, and field pieces in the intervals, and the whole was secured with an abbatis. By a preconcerted plan, a feint was to have been made from James Island, with a body of Charleston militia, at he moment when Gen. Lincoln began the attack from he main, but from mismanagement, they did not reach heir place of destination till the action was over. The ttack was continued for an hour and twenty minutes, nd the affailants had the advantage, but the appearance of a reinforcement, to prevent which the feint from James fland was intended, made their retreat necessary. of of the Americans in killed and wounded was about 50. Among the former was Col. Roberts, an artillery fficer of distinguished abilities. Having been bred to rms in his native country England, he had been particuirly ferviceable in diffusing military knowledge among he less informed American officers. In the short interal between his being wounded and his dying, he was isited on the field of battle by his son Capt. Roberts, of is own regiment. The expiring father presented his word to his fon, with an exhortation to behave worthy f it, and to use it in defence of liberty and his country. fter a short conversation he defired him to return to is proper station, adding for reason "that there he hight be useful, but to him he could be of no service".

Immediately after this attack, the American militian patient of absence from their homes returned to their antations, and about the same time the British left the lands adjacent to Charleston, retreating from one to nother, till they arrived at Port-royal and Savannah. A unsiderable garrison was left at the former place under pl. Maitland, but the main body went to Savannah.

This incursion into South-Carolina contributed very tle to the advancement of the royal cause, but added uch to the wealth of the officers, soldiers and followers the British army, and still more to the distresses of the nabitants. The forces under the command of Gen. evost spread themselves over a considerable part of the hest settlements of the state, and where there are the west white inhabitants in proportion to the number of slaves.

the invaders. Small parties visited almost every house and unopposed took whatever they chose. They no only risted the inhabitants of houshold furniture, but wearing apparel, money, rings and other personal ome ments. Every place, in their line of march, experience the effects of their rapacity.

Soon after the affair at Stono, the continental force under the command of Gen. Lincoln retired to Shelder a healthy fituation in the vicinity of Beaufort. Both a mies remained in their respective encampments, till the arrival of a French fleet on the coast, roused the who

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country to immediate activity.

Count D'Estaing having repaired and victualled he fleet at Boston, sailed for the West-Indies, and on the Nov. 3. same day Commodore Hotham with five men of war, 1778. bomb vessel and some frigates, set out from New-Yorks convoy a number of transports with Gen. Grant, a 5000 men to the same theatre of naval operations.

Dec. 30. The British took St. Lucia, and Count D'Estaing tool 1778. St. Vincents and Grenada. Soon after the reductions the latter, the Count retired to Cape François. Have July received instructions from the King his master to all concert with the forces of the United States, and best strongly solicited by Gen. Lincoln, President Lowed Gov. Rutledge, and Mr. Plombard Consul of Francis Charleston, he failed for the American continent we expectation of rendering essential service, in operations against the common enemy. He arrived on the coast.

Sept. 1. against the common enemy. He arrived on the coast Georgia, with a fleet consisting of twenty sail of the litter of fifty guns and eleven frigates. His appearance was so unexpected that the Experiment man of war, 50 guns commanded by Sir James Wallace, and the frigates fell into his hands.

As foon as his arrival on the coast was known, 6 Lincoln with the army under his command, marched the vicinity of Savannah, and orders were given for militia of Georgia and South-Carolina to rendezvoust the same place. The British were equally diligent in paring for their defence. Great numbers were emp

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both by day and night, in strengthening and extending cirlines. The American militia, flushed with the hope of eedily expelling the British from their southern possesons, turned out with an alacrity which far surpassed eir exertions in the preceding campaign. D'Estaing bere the arrival of Lincoln demanded the furrender of e town to the arms of France. Prevost in his answer clined furrendering on a general fummons, and reefted that specific terms should be proposed, to which would give an answer. The Count replied that it was e part of the belieged to propole terms. Prevost then ked for a suspension of hostilities, for 24 hours, for eparing proper terms. This was inconfiderately grant-

Before the 24 hours elapsed, Lieut. Col. Maitland th feveral hundred men who had been stationed at aufort, made their way good through many obstacles. d joined the royal army in Savannah. The garrison, couraged by the arrival of fo respectable a force, demined on refistance. The French and Americans, o formed a junction the evening after, were therefore duced to the necessity of storming or besieging the garon. The refolution of proceeding by siege being apted, feveral days were confumed in preparing for it. d in the mean time the works of the garrison were urly strengthened by the labour of several hundred nebes, directed by that able engineer Major Moncrief. Oct. 4. e beliegers opened with nine mortars, thirty feven ces of cannon from the land fide, and fifteen from water. Soon after the commencement of the canhade, Prevost solicited for leave to fend the women and ldren out of town, but this was refused. The comed army suspected that a defire of secreting the plun-, lately taken from the South-Carolinians, was coverunder the veil of humanity. It was also presumed t a refusal would expedite a surrender. On a report m the engineers that a confiderable time would be neary to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, it determined to make an affault. This measure was ced on Count D'Estaing by his marine officers, who remonstrated against his continuing to risk fo valuable VOL. II.

Oct. 9.

nent.

a fleet on a dangerous coaft, in the hurricane feafon, and at so great a distance from the shore, that it might be furprised by a British fleet, completely repaired and fully manned. In a few days the lines of the besiegers might have been carried into the works of the befieged, but un der these critical circumstances, no farther delay could be admitted. To affault or raife the fiege was the alternative. Prudence would have dictated the latter, but i fense of honor determined the besiegers to adopt the for Two feints were made with the country militia, and a real attack on Spring-hill battery early in the morning, with 3500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the inhabitants of Charleston. These bolds marched up to the lines, under the command of D'E. taing and Lincoln, but a heavy and well directed fin from the batteries, and a cross fire from the gallies, threw the front of their columns into confusion. Two ftandards were nevertheless planted on the British re-A retreat of the affailants was ordered, after they had stood the enemies fire for 55 minutes. Count D'Estaing and Count Pulaski were both wounded. The former flightly, but the latter mortally. Six hundred and thirty seven of the French, and upwards of 200 of the continentals and militia were killed or wounded Gen. Prevoft, Lieut. Col. Maitland, and Major Moncrief deservedly acquired great reputation by this succession ful defence. The force of the garrison was between ? The daand 3000, of which about 150 were militia. mage fustained by the besieged was trifling, as they fird from behind works, and few of the affailants fired at all Immediately after this unfuccessful affault, the militia almost univerfally, went to their homes. Count D'Estain reimbarked his troops and artillery, and left the cont

While the fiege of Savannah was pending, a remarkable enterprise was effected by Col. John White of the Georgia line. Capt. French had taken post with about 100 men near the river Ogechee, some time before the fiege began. There were also at the same place for sailors on board of five British vessels, four of which

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were armed. All these men, together with the vessels and 130 stand of arms, were surrendered to Col. White, Capt. Elholm and sour others, one of which was the Colonel's servant. On the preceding night this small party kindled a number of sires in different places, and adopted the parade of a large encampment. By these and a variety of deceptive stratagems, Capt. French was sulpinpressed with an opinion, that nothing but an instant surrender, in conformity to a peremptory summons, could save his men from being cut to pieces by a superior force. He therefore gave up, without making any resistance.

This vifit of the fleet of his most Christian Majesty to the coast of America, though unsuccessful as to its main object, was not without utility to the United States. It disconcerted the measures already digested by the Briish commanders, and caused a considerable waste of time, before they could determine on a new plan of operati-It also occasioned the evacuation of Rhode-Island. ons. But this was of no advantage to the United States. of all the blunders committed by the British in the course of the American war, none was greater than their stationing near 6000 men, for two years and eight months, on that Island, where they were lost to every purpose of co-operation, and where they could render very little more fervice to the royal cause, than could have been obtained by a couple of frigates cruifing in the vicinity.

The fiege being raised, the continental troops retreated over the river Savannah. The vicissitudes of an automnal atmosphere made a severe impression on the irritable fibres of men, exhausted with fatigue and dejected by defeat. In proportion to the towering hopes, with which the expedition was undertaken, was the depression of spirits subsequent to its failure. The Georgia exiles, who had assembled from all quarters to reposses themselves of their estates, were a second time obliged to see from their country and possessions. The most gloomy apprehensions, respecting the Southern States, took possession of the minds of the people.

Thus

Thus ended the fouthern campaign of 1779, without any thing decisive on either side. After one year, in which the British had over-run the State of Georgia for 150 miles from the sea coast, and had penetrated as far as the lines of Charleston, they were reduced to their original limits in Savannah. All their schemes of cooperation with the tories had failed, and the spirits of that class of the inhabitants, by successive disappointments, were thoroughly broken.

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The campaign of 1779 is remarkable for the feeble exertions of the Americans. Accidental causes, which had previously excited their activity, had in a great meafure ceased to have influence. An enthusiasm for liberty made them comparatively difregard property, and brane all danger in the first years of the war. The successes of their arms near the beginning of 1777, and the hopes of capturing Burgoyne's army in the close of it, together with the brisk circulation of a large quantity of paper money in good credit, made that year both active and decifive. The flattering prospects inspired by the alliance with France in 1778 banished all fears of the success of the revolution, but the failure of every scheme of co-operation produced a despondency of mind unfavourable to great exertions. Instead of driving the British out of the country, as the Americans vainly prefumed, the campaign of 1778 and 1779 terminated without any direct advantage from the French fleet fent to their aid. Expecting too much from their allies, and then failing in these expectations, they were less prepared to prosecute the war from their own resources, than they would have been had D'Estaing not touched on their coast. Their army was reduced in its numbers, and badly cloathed: In the first years of the war the mercantile character was lost in the military spirit of the times, but in the progress of it the inhabitants, cooling in their enthusiasm, gradually returned to their former habits of lucrative business. This made distinction between the army and the citizens, and was unfriendly to military exertions. While feveral foreign events tended to the embarrassment of Great-Britain, and indirectly to the establishment of independence, a variety withou

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of internal causes relaxed the exertions of the Americans, and for a time made it doubtful, whether they would ultimately be independent citizens or conquered subjects. Among these, the daily depreciation of their bills of credit held a distinguished pre-eminence. This so materially affected every department as to merit a particular disculsion The subject, to prevent an interruption of the thread of the narrative, is treated of in a separate appendix.

APPENDIX, Nº. II.

Of Continental Paper Currency.

IN the modern mode of making war, money is not less effential, than valour in the field, or wisdom in the cabinet. The deepest purse decides the fate of contending nations, as often as the longest sword. It early occurred to the founders of the American empire, that the eftablished revenues of Great Britain, must eventually overbalance the fudden and impetuous fallies of men contending for freedom, on the spur of the occasion, and without the permanent means of defence; but how to remedy the evil, puzzled their wifest politicians. Gold and filver, as far as was known, had not a physical existence in the country, in any quantity equal to the demands of war, nor could they be procured from abroad, as the channels of commerce had been previously thut, by the voluntary affociation of Congress to suspend foreign America having never been much taxed in any direct way, and being without established governments, and especially as she was contending against what was lately lawful authority, could not immediately proteed to taxation. Besides as the contest was on the subect of taxation, the laying on of taxes adequate to the xigencies of war, even though it had been practicable, vould have been impolitic The only plaufible expedint in their power to adopt, was the emission of bills of redit representing specie, under a public engagement to e ultimately funk by equal taxes, or exchanged for gold r filver. This practice had been familiar from the first ettlement of the colonies, and under proper restrictions

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had been found highly advantageous. Their refolution to raise an army in June 1775, was therefore followed by another to emit bills of credit, to the amount of two millions of dollars. To that fum on the 25th of the next month, it was refolved to add another million. For their redemption they pledged the confederated colonies, and directed each colony to find ways and means, to fink its proportion and quota, in four annual payments, the first to be made on or before the last of Nov. 1779. That time was fixed upon from an expectation, that previous to its arrival, the contest would be brought to a conclusion. On the 29th of November, 1775, an estimate having been made by Congress of the public expences already incurred, or likely to be incurred in can rying on their defence till the 10th of June, 1776, it was resolved to emit a farther sum of three millions of dollars, to be redeemed as the former by four annual payments, the first to be made on or before the last day of Novem. 1783. It was at the fame time determined, that the quotas of bills to be redeemed by each colony should be in a relative proportion to their respective numbers of inhabitants. This estimate was calculated to defray expences to the 10th of June, 1776, or the idea that an accommodation would take place before that time. Hitherto all arrangements, both for men and money were temporary, and founded on the supposed probability of a reconciliation. Early in 1776, Congress obtained information, that Great Britain had contracted for 16,000 foreign mercenaries, to be fent over for the purpose of subduing America. This enforced the necessity of extending their plan of defence, beyon the 10th of the next June. They therefore on the 17th of February 1776, ordered four millions of dollars i be emitted, and on the 9th of May and the 22d of Jul following, emitted ten millions more on the same security Such was the animation of the times, that these seven emissions amounting in the aggregate to 20 millions dollars, circulated for feveral months without any depre ciation, and commanded the refources of the count for public fervice, equally with the same sum of gold filvet

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ver. The United States derived for a confiderable me, as much benefit from this paper creation of their win, though without any established funds for its support or redemption, as would have resulted from a free st of as many Mexican dollars. While the ministry of ingland were puzzling themselves for new taxes, and inds on which to raise their supplies, Congress siled theirs by resolutions, directing paper of no intrinct value to be struck off, in form of promissory notes, at there was a point both in time and quantity, beyond hich this congressional alchymy ceased to operate, hat time was about 18 months from the date of their stems was about 18 months from the date of the stems was about 18 months from the date of the stems was about 18 months was about 20 millions of the date of the stems was about 20 milli

Independence being declared in the fecond year of the ar, and the object for which arms were at first assumed ing changed, it was obvious that more money must be occured, and equally so that if bills of credit were ultiplied beyond a reasonable sum for circulation, they ust necessarily depreciate. It was therefore on the 3d October 1776 resolved to borrow sive millions of doles, and in the month following a lottery was set on of for obtaining a farther sum on loan. The expences the war were so great, that the money arising from th, though considerable, was far short of a sufficient

ge taxation. They therefore renerated the expedient farther emissions. The eafe with which the means of ocuring supplies were furnished by striking off bills of edit, and the readiness of the people to receive them, ompted Congress to multiply them beyond the limits of A diminution of their value was the unaudence. idable consequence. This at first was scarcely perceive e, but it daily increased. The zeal of the people netheless so far overbalanced the nice mercantile calcuions of interest, that the campaigns of 1776 and 1777 re not affected by the depreciation of the paper cincy. Congress foresaw that this could not long be the It was therefore on the 22d of November 1777 €. ommended to the feveral States, to raise by raxes the

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fum of five millions of dollars, for the service of the year 1778.

Previously to this it had been resolved to borrow larger fums, and for the encouragement of lenders, it was agreed to pay the interest which should accrue thereon by bills of exchange, payable in France, out of monies borrowed there for the use of the United States, This tax unfortunately failed in several of the States. From the impossibility of procuring a sufficiency of money either from loans or taxes, the old expedient of farther emiffions was reiterated; but the value decreased as the quantity increased. Congress anxious to put a stop to the increase of their bills of credit, and to provide a fund for reducing what were iffued, called upon the States on the 1st of January 1779, to pay into the continental treasury their respective quotas of fifteen millions of dollar for the service of that year, and of fix millions annually from and after the year 1779, as a fund for reducing their early emissions and loans. Such had been the mistaken ideas, which originally prevailed of the duration of the contest, that though the war was raging, and the demands for money unabated, yet the period was arrived which had been originally fixed upon for the redemption of the first emissions of Congress.

In addition to these 15 millions called for on the if of January 1779, the States were on the 21st of May following called upon to furnish, for public service within the current year, their respective quotas of 45 millions of dollars. Congress wished to arrest the growing depreciation, and therefore called for taxes in large fums, proportioned to the demands of the public, and also to the diminished value of their bills. These requisitions, though nominally large, were by no means sufficient. From the fluctuating state of the money, it was impossible to make any certain calculations, for it was not two days of the fame value. A fum which when demanded, would have purchased a sufficiency of the commodities wanted for the public service, was very inadequate, when the collection was made, and the money lodged in the treasury The depreciation began at different periods in different

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rates; but in general about the middle of the year 1777, nd progressively increased for three or four years. Torards the last of 1777, the depreciation was about two r three for one; in 1778 it advanced from two or three or one to five or fix for one; in 1779, from five or fix or one to 27 or 28 for one; in 1780 from 27 or 28 or one to 50 or 60 for one, in the first four or five onths. Its circulation was afterwards partial, but where passed it soon depreciated to 150 for one. w parts it continued in circulation for the first four or ve months of 1781, but in this latter period may would not take it at any rate, and they who did, reeived it at a depreciation of feveral hundreds for one.

As there was a general clamor on account of the floods f money, which at fuccessive periods had deluged the tates, it was refolved in October 1779 that no farther fum ould be iffued on any account whatever than what, when ided to the prefent fum in circulation, would in the whole equal to 200 millions of dollars. It was at the fame me refolved, that Congress should emit only such a part of e fum wanting to make up 200 millions, as should be ablutely necessary for the public exigencies, before adequate pplies could be otherwise obtained, relying for such supies on the exertions of the several States. This was for- Sept. 13. bly represented in a circular letter from Congress to their 1779. inflituents, and the States were earnestly intreated to prent that deluge of evils which would flow from their neesting to furnish adequate supplies for the wants of the infederacy. The fame circular letter stated the practicality of redeeming all the bills of Congress at par with old and filver, and rejected with indignation the suppositithat the States would ever tarnish their credit by violatg public faith. These strong declarations in favour of e paper currency deceived many to repose confidence in to their ruin. Subsequent events compelled Congress to opt the very measure in 1780, which in the preceding ar they had fincerely reprobated.

From the non-compliance of the States, Congress was liged in a short time after the date of their circular ter to iffue fuch a farther quantity, as when added to Vol. II. R previous

1779. previous emissions made the sum of 200 millions of dollars. Befides this immense sum, the paper emissions of the different States amounted to many millions; which mixed with the continental money, and added to it depreciation. What was of little value before now be. came of less. The whole was foon expended, and yet from its increased depreciation the immediate wants of the army were not supplied. The source which for five years had enabled Congress to keep an army in the field being exhausted, Gen. Washington was reduced for some time to the alternative of disbanding his troops, or of fupplying them by a military force. He preferred the latter, and the inhabitants of New-York and New-Jerfey, though they felt the injury, faw the necessity, and patiently

> The States were next called upon to furnish in lieu of money determinate quantities of beef, pork, flour and other articles, for the use of the army. This was called a requisition for specific supplies or a tax in kind, and was found on experiment to be so difficult of execution, so inconvenient, partial and expensive, that it was speedily abandoned. About this time, Congress resolved upon another expedient. This was to iffue a new species of paper money, under the guarantee of the feveral States The old money was to be called in by taxes, and as foot as brought in to be burnt, and in lieu thereof, one dollar of the new was to be emitted for every twenty of the old, fo that when the whole 200 millions were drawn in and cancelled, only ten millions of the new should be iffued in their place, four tenths of which were to be fubject to the order of Congress, and the remaining is tenths to the order of the feveral States. Thefe new bills were to be redeemable in specie within fix years, and to bear an interest at the rate of five per cent. to be paid also in specie, at the redemption of the bills, or at the election of the owner annually in bills of exchange of the American commissioners in Europe, at four shilling and fix pence for each dollar.

From the execution of these resolutions it was expect ed, that the old money would be cancelled --- that the

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currency would be reduced to a fixed standard --- that the States would be supplied with the means of purchasing the specific supplies required of them, and that Congress would be furnished with efficient money, to provide for the exigencies of the war. That these good effects would have followed, even though the resolutions of Congress had been carried into execution, is very questionable, but from the partial compliances of the States the experiment was never fairly made, and the new paper answered very little purpose. It was hoped by varying the ground of credit, that Congress would gain a repetition of the advantages which refulted from their first paper expedient, but these hopes were of short duration. this time much of the popular enthusiasm had spent itfelf, and confidence in public engagements was nearly expired. The event proved, that credit is of too delicate a nature to be sported with, and can only be maintained by honesty and punctuality. The several expedients proposed by Congress for raising supplies having failed, a crifis followed very interesting to the success of the revolution. The particulars of this shall be related among the public events of the year 1781, in which it took place. Some observations on that primary instrument of American Independence, the old continental bills of credit, shall for the present close this subject.

It would have been impossible to have carried on the war, without something in the form of money. There was spirit enough in America to bring to the field of battle as many of her sons, as would have out-numbered the armies of Britain, and to have risqued their fate on a general engagement; but this was the very thing they ought to avoid. Their principal hope lay in evacuating, retreating, and protracting to its utmost length a war of posts. The continued exertions, necessary for this species of defence, could not be expected from the impetuous sallies of militia. A regular permanent army became necessary. Though the enthusiasm of the times might have dispensed with present pay, yet without at least as much money, as would support them in the field, the most patriotic army must have dispersed.

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The impossibility of the Americans procuring gold and filver even for that purpose, doubtless weighed with the British as an encouragement, to bring the controversy to the decision of the sword. What they knew could not be done by ordinary means, was accomplished by those which were extraordinary. Paper of no intrinsic value was made to answer all the purposes of gold and filver, and to support the expences of five campaigns. was in some degree owing to a previous confidence, which had been begotten by honesty and fidelity, in discharging the engagements of government. From New-York 10 Georgia there never had been in matters relating to money, an instance of a breach of public faith. In the scarcity of gold and filver, many emergencies had imposed necessity of emitting bills of credit. These had been uniformly and honeftly redeemed. The bills of Congress being thrown into circulation, on this favourable foundation of public confidence, were readily received. enthusiasm of the people contributed to the same effect That the endangered liberties of America ought to be defended, and that the credit of their paper was effentially necessary to a proper defence, were opinions engraven on the hearts of a great majority of the citizens. It was therefore a point of honor and confidered as a part of duty, to take the bills freely at their full value. Private gain was then fo little regarded, that the whig citizens were willing to run all the hazards incidental to bills of credit, rather than injure the cause of their country by undervaluing its money. Every thing human has its limits. While the credit of the money was well supported by public confidence and patriotifm, its value diminished from the increase of its quantity. Repeated emissions begat that natural depreciation, which refults from an excess of quantity. This was helped on by various causes, which affected the credit of the money. The enemy very ingeniously counterfeited their bills, and industrioully circulated their forgeries through the United States Congress allowed to their public agents a commission of the amount of their purchases. Instead of exerting themselves to purchase at a low price, they had there

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fore an interest in giving a high price for every thing. So strong was the force of prejudice, that the British mode of supplying armies by contract, could not for a long time obtain the approbation of Congress. While these causes operated, confidence in the public was abating, and at the same time, that fervor of patriotism which difregarded interest was daily declining. To prevent or retard the depreciation of their paper money, Congress attempted to prop its credit by means which wrecked private property, and injured the morals of the people without answering the end proposed. They recommended to the States to pass laws for regulating the prices of labour, manufacture and all forts of commodities, and for confiscating and felling the estates of tories, and for invefting the money arising from the fales thereof in loan-office certificates. As many of those who were disaffected to the revolution absolutely refused to take the bills of Congress even in the first stage of the war, when the real and nominal value was the same, with the view of counteracting their machinations, Congress early recommended to the States to pass laws for making the paper money a legal tender, at their nominal value in the lischarge of bona fide debts, though contracted to be paid in gold or filver. With the fame views, they farther recommended that laws should be passed by each of the States, ordaining that "whofoever should ask or receive more, in their bills of credit for gold or filver or any species of money whatfoever, than the nominal fum thereof in Spanish dollars, or more in the faid bills for any commodities whatfoever, than the fame could be purchased from the same person in gold and silver, or offer to sell any commodities for gold or filver, and refuse to fell the fame for the faid bills, shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of the United States, and forfeit the property fo fold or offered for fale". The laws which were passed by the States, for regulating the prices of labor and commodities, were found on experiment to be visionary and impracticable. They only operated on the patriotic few, who were disposed to facrifice every thing in the cause of their country, and who implicitly obeyed every mandate

of their rulers. Others difregarded them, and either refused to part with their commodities, or demanded and obtained their own prices.

These laws in the first instance, made an artissial scarcity, and had they not been repealed would some have made a real one, for men never exert themselve unless they have the fruit of their exertions secured to

them, and at their own disposal.

The confiscation and sale of the property of tories, for the most part brought but very little into the public treasury. The sales were generally made for credit, and by the progressive depreciation, what was dear at the time of the purchase, was very cheap at the time of payment. The most extensive mischief resulted in the progress, and towards the close of the war from the operation of the law, which made the paper bills a tender, in the discharged debts contracted payable in gold or silver. When this measure was first adopted little or no injustice resulted from it, for at that time the paper bills were equal, or nearly equal to gold or silver, of the same nominal sum. In the progress of the war, when depreciation took place, the case was materially altered. Laws which were originally in mocent became eventually the occasion of much injustice.

The aged who had retired from the scenes of active business, to enjoy the fruits of their industry, found their substance melting away to a mere pittance, insufficient for their support. The widow who lived comfort ably on the bequests of a deceased husband, experi enced a frustration of all his well meant tenderness The laws of the country interposed, and compelled her to receive a shilling, where a pound was he The blooming virgin who had grown up with unquestionable title to a liberal patrimony, was legally stripped of every thing but her personal charms and with tues. The hapless orphan, instead of receiving from the hands of an executor, a competency to fet out in business was obliged to give a final discharge on the payment 6d. in the pound. In many instances, the earnings of long life of care and diligence were, in the space of a fer years, reduced to a trifling fum. A few persons escape

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hele affecting calamities, by fecretly transferring their onds, or by flying from the presence or neighbourhood of their debtors. The evils which refulted from the lecal tender of these paper bills, were foreign from the inentions of Congress, and of the State legislatures. It s but justice to add farther, that a great proportion of hem flowed from ignorance. Till the year 1780, when he bills fell to forty for one, it was defigned by most of he rulers of America, and believed by a great majority of the people, that the whole fum in circulation would be appreciated by a reduction of its quantity, so as finally to be equal to gold or filver. In every department of government the Americans erred from ignorance, but in none fo much, as in that which related to money.

Such were the evils which refulted from paper monarged hey. On the other hand, it was the occasion of good hen this to many. It was at all times the poor man's friend. ed from While it was current, all kinds of labor very readir nearly by found their reward. In the first years of the war, In the none were idle from want of employment, and none were the call employed, without having it in their power to obtain reanally in dy payment for their services. To that class of people, justice whose daily labor was their support, the depreciation was of active no disadvantage. Expending their money as fast as they nd their received it, they always got its full value. The reverse sufficient was the case with the rich, or those who were disposed omfort to hoarding. No agrarian law ever had a more extensive experts operation, than continental money. That for which the deerness Gracchi lost their lives in Rome, was peaceably effected in the United States, by the legal tender of these depressivable was her with a second solution. with a came poor. Money lenders, and they whose circum-tances enabled them to give credit, were essentially in-and virtured. All that the money lost in its value was so much from the taken from their capital, but the active and industrious business indemnisted themselves, by conforming the price of their fervices to the present state of the depreciation. The of a fer effons, the impolicy of depending on paternal acquisitions, as escape and the necessity of their own exertions. They who

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were in debt, and possessed property of any kind, could easily make the latter extinguish the former. Every thing that was useful when brought to market readily found a purchaser. A hog or two would pay for a slave; a few cattle for a comfortable house; and a good horse for an improved plantation. A small part of the productions of a farm would discharge the long outstanding accounts, due from its owner. The dreams of the golden age were realised to the poor man and the debtor, but unfortunately what these gained, was just so much taken from others.

The evils of depreciation did not terminate with the war. They extend to the present hour. That the help-less part of the community were legislatively deprived of their property, was among the lesser evils, which resulted from the legal tender of the depreciated bills of credit. The iniquity of the laws estranged the minds of many of the citizens from the habits and love of justice.

The nature of obligations was fo far changed, that he was reckoned the honest man, who from principle delayed to pay his debts. The mounds which government had erected, to secure the observance of honesty in the commercial intercourse of man with man, were broken down. Truth, honor, and justice were swept away by the overslowing deluge of legal iniquity, nor have they yet assumed their ancient and accustomed seats. Time and industry have already, in a great degree, repaired the losses of property, which the citizens sustained during the war, but both have hitherto failed in effacing the taint which was then communicated to their principles, nor can its total ablution be expected till a new generation arises, unpractised in the iniquities of their fathers.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of Indians and Expeditions into the Indian Country.

WHEN the English colonies were first planted in North America, the country was inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians, who principally supported themselves

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themselves by the spontaneous productions of nature. The arts and arms of Europeans foon gave them an afcendency over fuch untutored favages. Had the latter understood their interest, and been guided by a spirit of union, they would foon have expelled the invaders, and in that case they might now be flourishing in the possession of their ancient territories and independence. grees the old inhabitants were circumfcribed within narrower limits, and by fome strange fatality, their numbers have been constantly lessening. The names of several nations who in the last century boasted of several thousands, are now known only to those who are fond of curious refearches. Many are totally extinct, and others can shew no more than a few straggling individuals, the remnants of their fallen greatness. That so many tribes should, in fo short a time, lose both their country and their national existence, is an event scarcely to be paralleled in the history of the world. Spiritous liquors, the small pox, and an abridgment of territory, to a people whose mode of life needed an extensive range, evils which chiefly refulted from the neighbourhood of Europeans, were among the principal causes of their destruction. The reflections which may be excited by reviewing the havoc made among the native proprietors of this new world, is in some degree alleviated by its counterpart. While one fet of inhabitants was infenfibly dwindling away, another improving in the arts of civil and focial life was growing in numbers, and gradually filling up their places. As the emigrants from Europe, and their dependents extended their possessions on the sea coast, the Aborigines retired from it. By this gradual advance of the one and retiring of the other, the former always presented an extenfive frontier, to the incursions of the latter. The European emigrants from an avidity for land, the possession of which is the ultimate object of human avarice, were prone to encroach on the territories of the Indians, while the Indians from obvious principles of human nature, beheld with concern the descendants of the ancient proprietors circumfcribed in their territory by the descendants of those strangers, whom their fathers had per-

mitted to refide among them. From these causes and especially from the licentious conduct of disorderly individuals of both Indians and white people, there were free quent interruptions of the peace in their contiguous fet-In the war between France and England which commenced in 1755, both parties paid affiduous attention to the Aborigines. The former fucceeded in fecuring the greatest number of adherents, but the superior fuccess of the latter in the progress, and at the termination of the war, turned the current of Indian affection and interest in their favor. When the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies began to grow ferious, the friendship of the Indians became a matter of consequence to both parties. Stretching for fifteen hundred mile along the whole north-western frontier of the colonies, an the they were to them defirable friends and formidable ene xplain As terror was one of the engines by which Great ate th Britain intended to enforce the submission of the colo-nies, nothing could be more conducive to the excitement of me of this passion, than the co-operation of Indians. Policy, not cruelty, led to the adoption of this expedient: But For it was of that over-refined species which countered ourse itself. In the competition for the friendship of the latered dians, the British had advantages far superior to any hern a which were possessed by the the colonists. The expulse ach. which were possessed by the the colonists. The expulsion on of the French from Canada, an event which had one mong ly taken place about 13 years before, was still fresh in from the memory of many of the savages, and had inspired tates; them with high ideas of the martial superiority of British longre troops. The first steps taken by the Congress to oppose run from Great Britain, put it out of their power to gratify the reat mandal superiority of the non-importation ain again agreement of 1774. While Great Britain had access to the principal Indian tribes through Canada on the north and the two Floridas on the south, and was abundant and the two Floridas on the fouth, and was abundant and the mandal the same superiority steps which were the same than the same superiority for the Indian trade.

It was unfortunate for the colonies, that fince the er of peace of Paris 1763, the transactions with the Indian affuence

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ad been mostly carried on by superintendants appointed nd paid by the King of Great Britain. These being under obligations to the crown, and expectants of further avours from it, generally used their influence with the ndians in behalf of the Mother Country, and against the olonies. They infinuated into the minds of the uninormed favages, that the King was their natural protecor against the encroaching colonists, and that if the latter acceeded in their opposition to Great Britain, they gould probably next aim at the extirpation of their red eighbours. By fuch representations, seconded with a rofusion of prefents, the attachment of the Indians was re-engaged in support of the British interest.

The Americans were not unmindful of the Savages n their frontier. They appointed commissioners to xolain to them the grounds of the dispute, and to cultiate their friendship by treaties and presents. They encavoured to perfuade the Indians that the quarrel was by o means relative to them, and that therefore they tement

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For the greater, convenience of managing the intert: But nteract ourse between the colonies and the Indians, the latter vere divided into three departments, the northern, fouhern and middle, and commissioners were appointed for ach. Congress also resolved to import and distribute expulfi mong them a fuitable affortment of goods, to the aand on fresh in pount of £40,000 sterling, on account of the United infpired tates; but this was not executed. All the exertions of Britis Congress were insufficient for the security of their westoppole in frontiers. In almost every period of the war, a tify the reat majority of the Indians took part with Great Briortation ain against the Americans. South-Carolina was among coess to be first of the States, which experienced the effects of indiant creeks inhabit lands, not far distant from the western setd debat ements of Carolina and Georgia. The intercourse with sich wer bese tribes had, for several years prior to the American ar, been exclusively committed to John Stuart an offiince the er of the crown, and devoted to the royal interest. His India Muence, which was great, was wholly exerted in favor

Jan. 26.

1776.

of Great Britain. A plan was fettled by him, in concern with the King's governors, and other royal fervants, to land a royal armed force in Florida, and to proceed with it to the western frontier of the Southern States, and there in conjunction with the tories and Indians, to fall on the friends of Congress, at the same time that a fleet and army should invade them on the sea coast. The whole scheme was providentially discovered by the capture of . Moses Kirkland, one of the principal agents to be employ. ed in its execution, while he was on his way to Gen. Gage with despatches, detailing the particulars, and soliciting for the requisite aid to accomplish it. The possession of Kirkland, and of his papers, enabled the Americans to take fuch steps as in a great degree frustrated the views of the royal fervants, yet fo much was carried into effect, that the Cherokees began their massacres, at the very time the British fleet attacked the fort on Sullivan's Island The undisturbed tranquillity, which took place in South Carolina and the adjacent States, after the British had failed in their defigns against them in the spring and fummer of 1776, gave an opportunity for carrying wan into the Indian country. This was done, not fo much to punish what was past, as to prevent all future co-operation between the Indians and British in that quarter,

1776.

Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georg gia each fent about the fame time a confiderable force over the Alleghany mountains, which traversed the Indian fettlements, burned their towns, and deftroyed their fields of corn. Above 500 of the Cherokees were obliged, from the want of provisions, to take refuge in Well-Florida, and were there fed at the expence of the British government. These unfortunate misled people sued for peace in the most submissive terms, and soon after affented to a treaty, by which they ceded a confiderable part of their land to South-Carolina. The decision with which this expedition was conducted intimidated the Cherokets for some years, from farther hostilities. Very different was the cafe of those Indians who were in the vicinity of the British posts, and contiguous to the frontier of the porthern and middle States. The prefents which the continual

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ontinually received from England, the industry of the 1779. British agents, and the influence of a great number of American refugees who had taken shelter among them, perating on their native passion for rapine, excited them o frequent hostile excursions. Col. John Butler a Connecticut tory, and one Brandt a half Indian by blood, were the principal leaders of the Savages in these expelitions. The vast extent of frontier, and remote situation of the fettlements, together with the exact knowedge which the refugees possessed of the country, made practicable for even small marauding parties to do extensive mischief.

A storm of Indian and tory vengeance burst with paricular violence on Wyoming, a new and flourishing fet- July 1. dement on the eastern branch of Susquehannah. Unforunately for the fecurity of the inhabitants, the foil was claimed both by Connecticut and Pennsylvania. From the collision of contradictory claims, founded on royal charters, the laws of neither were steadily enforced. In this remote fettlement, where government was feeble, the tories were under less control, and could easily assemble undiscovered. Nevertheless at one time 27 of them were taken, and fent to Hartford in Connecticut, but they were afterwards released. These and others of the fame description, instigated by revenge against the Americans, from whom some of them had suffered banishment and loss of property, made a common cause with the Indians, and attacked the Wyoming fettlement with their combined forces estimated at 1100 men, 900 of which were Indians. The whole was commanded by Col. John Butler, a Connecticut tory. One of the forts, which had been constructed for the security of the inhabitants, being very weak, furrendered to this party; but some of the garrison had previously retired to the principal fort at Kingston, called Forty-Fort. Col. John July 2. Butler next demanded the furrender of that. Col. Zebulan Butler a continental officer who commanded there, lent a meffage to him, proposing a conference at a bridge without the fort. This being agreed to, Col. Zebulon Butler, Dennison, and some other officers repaired to the July 3.

place

place appointed, and they were followed by the whole place appointed, and they were followed by the whole garrison, a few invalids excepted. None of the enc. More of the enc. They then saw a few of the encmy, with whom they enchanged some shot, but they presently found themselves ambuscaded and attacked by the whole body of Indian and tories. They fought gallantly, till they found that their retreat to the fort was cut off. Universal confus. On then ensued. Of 417 who had marched out of the fort, about 360 were instantly slain. No quarters were given. Col. John Butler again demanded the furrender of Forty-Fort. This was agreed to under articles of capitulation, by which the effects of the people therein were to be secured to them. The garrison consisted of 30 men and 200 women. These were permitted to cross the Susquehannah, and retreat through the woods to Northampton county. The most of the other stated to cross the Susquehannah, and retreat through the woods to Northampton county. The most of the other states of the Susquehannah, and retreat through the woods to Northampton county, others down the river to Northumberland county. In this retreat, some women were delivered of children in the woods, and many suspended the suspended to the states of the s garrison, a few invalids excepted. None of the enc.

The diffresses of this settlement were uncommonly of his Is great. A large proportion of the male inhabitants were, ation o in one day, slaughtered. In a single engagement, near he misses women were made widows, and a much greater after so number of children were left fatherless.

Soon after the destruction of the Wyoming settlement, an expedition was carried on against the Indians by Col. Butler of the Pennsylvania troops. He and his party, having with the gained the head of the Delaware, marched down the river sticles for two days, and then struck across the country to the British Sufquehannah

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Susquehannah. They totally burnt or distroyed the 1779. odian villages, both in that quarter and the other fetlements, but the inhabitants escaped. The destruction was extended for several miles on both fides of the Susquehannah. The difficulties which Col. Butler's men ey exincountered in this expedition, could not be undergone but by men who possessed a large share of hardiness, both of body and mind. They were obliged to carry their provisions on their backs, and thus loaded, frequently to vade through creeks and rivers. After the toil of a hard march, they were obliged to endure chilly nights and

hard march, they were obliged to endure chilly nights and heavy rains, without even the means of keeping their rms dry. They completed their business in fixteen days. About four weeks after Col. Butler's return; some hundred problems of Indians, a large body of tories, and about 50 remiles of Indians, a large body of tories, and about 50 remiles of Indians, a large body of tories, and about 50 remiles of they made an unfuccessful attempt on fort Allen, but they killed and scalped thirty two of the inhabouter ants, mostly women and children, and also Col. Alden and ten soldiers.

An expedition which was to have taken place under leavy Hamilton Lt. Gov. of Detroit, fortunately for the Virginian back settlers, against whom it was principally dietted fell through, in consequence of the spirited conduct of Col. Clarke. The object of the expedition was extensive and for the settlers in the winter, to have all things in readiness or invading the American settlements, as soon as the season seems of the year would permit. Clarke on hearing that Hamilton and weakened himself by sending away a considerable part of this Indians against the frontier settlers, formed the resonant monly of his Indians against the frontier settlers, formed the resotion of attacking him, as the best expedient for preventing
the mischiefs which were designed against his country.

After surmounting many difficulties he arrived with 130
ten unexpectedly at St. Vincents.

The town immediately gave up to the Americans, and

y Col. fifted them in taking the fort. The next day Hamilton, Feb. 23. having with the garrison, agreed to surrender prisoners of war on nicles of capitulation. Clarke on hearing that a convoy to the British goods and provisions was on its way from De-

troit,

troit, detached a party of fixty men which met them, and made prize of the whole. By this well conducted and spirited attack on Hamilton, his intended expedition wa nipped in the bud. Col. Clarke transmitted to the coun cil of Virginia letters and papers, relating to Lt. Gov. Hamilton, Philip De Jean justice of peace for Detroit and William Lamothe captain of volunteers, whom he had made prisoners. The board reported that Hamilton had incited the Indians to perpetrate their accustome cruelties on the defenceless inhabitants of the United States-had at the time of his captivity fent confiderable detachments of Indians against the frontiers--had ap pointed a great council of them, to meet him and concer the operations of the enfuing campaign -- had given fland ingrewards for scalps, and had treated American prisoner with cruelty. They also reported, that it appeared the De Jean was the willing and cordial instrument of Hami ton, and that Lamothe was captain of the volunteer scale ing parties of Indians and tories, who went out from time to time, under general orders to spare neither men women, nor children. They therefore confidering the as fit objects, on which to begin the work of retaliationadvised the Governor to put them in irons--confin them in the dungeon of the public jail-debar them the use of pen, ink and paper, and exclude them from converse, except with their keeper.

Apr. 19.

Col. Goose Van Schaick, with 55 men, marched from fort Schuyler to the Onandago settlements, and burned the whole, consisting of about 50 houses, together with a large quantity of provisions. Horses, and stock of every kind were killed. The arms and ammunition of the Indians were either destroyed or brought off, and their settlements were laid waste. Twelve Indians were killed, and 34 mass prisoners. This expedition was performed in less thank days, and without the loss of a single man.

In this manner, the savage part of the war was carried on in America. Waste and sometimes cruelty were in slicted and retorted, with infinite variety of scenes who horror and difgust. The felfish passions of human at ture unrestrained by social ties, broke over all bounds

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decency or humanity. The American refugees, who 1779. had fled to the western wilderness, indulged their passion for rapine by affuming the colour and drefs of Indians. At other times they acted as guides, and conducted these merciless ravagers into fuch settlements, as afforded the most valuable booty, and the fairest prospect of escape. The favages encouraged by British presents and agents, and led on by American refugees well acquainted with the country, and who cloaked the most consummate villainy under the specious name of loyalty, extended their depredations and murders far and near.

A particular detail of the devastation of property--of the distress of great numbers who escaped, only by fleeing to the woods, where they subsisted without covering on the spontaneous productions of the earth--- and of the barbarous murders which were committed on persons of every age and fex, would be fufficient to freeze every breast with horror.

In fundry expeditions which had been carried on against the Indians, ample vengeance had been taken on some of them, but these partial successes produced no lasting benefit. The few who escaped, had it in their power to make thousands miserable. For the permanent fecurity of the frontier inhabitants, it was refolved in the year 1779 to carry a decifive expedition into the Indian country. A confiderable body of continental troops was selected for this purpose, and put under the command of Gen. Sullivan. The Indians who form the confederacy of the fix nations, commonly, called the Mohawks, were the objects of this expedition. They inhabit that immense and fertile tract of country, which lies between New-England, the middle States and the province of Canada. They had been advised by Congress, and they had promised, to observe a neutrality in the war, but they foon departed from this line of conduct. Oneidas and a few others were friends to the Americans, but a great majority took part decidedly against them. Overcome by the prefents and promifes of Sir John Johnson and other British agents, and their own native appetite for depredation, they invaded the frontiers VOL. II. carrying

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carrying flaughter and devastation wherever they went From the vicinity of their fettlements, to the inhabited parts of the United States, they facilitated the inroad of the more remote Indians. Much was therefore ex. pected from their expultion. When Gen. Sullivan was on his way to the Indian country he was joined by the American Gen. Clinton with upwards of 1000 men. The latter made his way down the Sufquehannah by a The stream of water in that river fingular contrivance. was too low to float his batteaux. To remedy this inconvenience, he raifed with great industry a dam across the mouth of the Lake Otsego, which is one of the fources of the river Sufquehannah. The lake being constantly fupplied by fprings foon rose to the height of the dam. General Clinton having got his batteaux ready, openeda passage through the dam for the water to flow. This raifed the river fo high that he was enabled to embark all his troops and to float them down to Tioga. By this exertion they foon joined Sullivan. The Indians on hearing of the expedition projected against them, acted with firmness. They collected their strength, took possession of proper ground, and fortified it with judgment. Sullivan attacked them in their works. They stood a cannonade for more than two hours but then gave way, This engagement proved decifive: After the trenches were forced, the Indians fled without making any attempt They were purfued for some miles but without to rally. The consternation occasioned among them by this defeat was fo great, that they gave up all ideas of farther refistance. As the Americans advanced into their fettlements, the Indians retreated before them, without throwing any obstructions in their way. Gen. Sullis van penetrated into the heart of the country inhabited by the Mohawks, and spread desolation every where. Many fettlements in the form of towns were destroyed, besides detached habitations. All their fields of corn, and whatever was in a state of cultivation, underwent the same fate. Scarce any thing in the form of a house was left standing, nor was an Indian to be feen. To the furprise of the Americans, they found the lands about the Indian towns

Aug. 29.

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towns well cultivated, and their houses both large and commodious. The quantity of corn destroyed was immense. Orchards in which were several hundred fruit rees were cut down, and of them many appeared to have been planted for a long feries of years. Their gardens, which were enriched with great quantities of uleful vegetables of different kinds, were laid waste. The Americans were fo full of refentment against the Indians, for the many outrages they had fuffered from them, and fo bent on making the expedition decifive, that the officers and foldiers cheerfully agreed to remain till they had fully completed the destruction of the settlement. supplies obtained in the country, lessened the inconvenience of short rations. The ears of corn were so remarkably large, that many of them measured twenty two inches in ength. Necessity suggested a novel expedient for pulverifing the grains thereof. The foldiers perforated a few of their camp kettles with bayonets. The protrufions occasioned thereby formed a rough furface, and by rubbing the ears of corn thereon, a coarse meal was produced, which was eafily converted into agreeable nourishment.

In about three months from his fetting out, Sullivan reached Easton in Pennsylvania, and foon after rejoined the army.

The Indians, by this decifive expedition, being made to feel in the most sensible manner, those calamities they were wont to inslict on others, became cautious and timid. The sufferings they had undergone, and the dread of a repetition of them, in case of their provoking the resentment of the Americans, damped the ardor of their warriors from making incursions into the American settlements. The frontiers, though not restored to perfect tranquility, experienced an exemption from a great proportion of the calamities, in which they had been lately involved.

Though these good consequences resulted from this expedition, yet about the time of its commencement, and before its termination, several detached parties of Indians distressed different settlements in the United States.

Though

A party of 60 Indians, and 27 white men, under Brandt

attacked the Minisink settlement, and burnt 10 houses, 12 barns, a fort and two mills, and carried off much July 23. plunder, together with feveral prisoners. The militia from Goshen and the vicinity, to the amount of 149, collected and pursued them, but with so little caution that they were surprised and defeated. About this time, Gen. Williamson and Col. Pickens, both of South-Carolina, entered the Indian country adjacent to the frontier of their State, burned and destroyed the corn of eight towns, and infifted upon the Indians removing immediately from their

Aug. 22.

late habitations into more remote fettlements. In the same month, Col. Broadhead engaged in a successful expedition against the Mingo, Munsey, and Seneka Indians. He left Pittsburg with 605 men, and was gone about five weeks, in which time he penetrated about 200 miles from the fort, destroyed a number of Indian huts and about 500 acres of corn.

Aug. II.

The State of New-York continued to fuffer in its frontier, from Indians and their tory affociates. These burnt

50 houses, and 47 barns, the principal part of Canijohary, a fine fettlement about 56 miles from Albany, They also destroyed 27 houses at Schoharie, and 20 at Normans creek. In about two months after, they made a fecond irruption, and attacked Stone Arabia, Canalioraga and Schohavie. At the same time, they laid waste a great extent of country about the Mohawk river, killed a number of the fettlers, and made many prison-

Octo. 1780.

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The Cherokee Indians, having forgot the confequences of provoking the Americans to invade their fettlements in the year 1776, made an incursion into Nines ty-Six district in South-Carolina, massacred some family lies, and burned several houses. Gen. Pickens collected a party of the militia, and penetrated into their country. This he accomplished in fourteen days, at the head of 394 horsemen. In that short space, he burned thirteen towns

and only two were wounded. None of the expeditions

1781. and villages, killed upwards of 40 Indians, and took a number of prisoners. Not one of his party was killed,

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against the Cherokees had been so rapid and decisive as this one. The Americans did not expend three rounds of ammunition, and yet only three Indians escaped after having been once seen. On this occasion, a new and successful mode of fighting them was introduced. The American militia rushed forwards on horse-back, and charged the Indians with drawn swords. The vanquished Cherokees again sued for peace, in the most submissive terms and obtained it, but not till they had promised, that instead of listening to the advice of the royalists, instigating them to war, they would deliver to the authority of the State of South-Carolina, all who should visit them on that errand.

Towards the end of the war, there was a barbarous and unprovoked massacre of some civilised Indians, who had been fettled near the Muskingum. These under the influence of some pious missionaries of the Moravian perfusion, had been formed into some degree of civil and religious order. They abhorredwar, and would take no part therein, giving for reason that "The Great Being did not make men to destroy men, but to love and affist each other." From a love of peace they advised those of their own colour, who were bent on war, to defift from it. They were also led from humanity, to inform the white people of their danger, when they knew that their fettlements were about to be invaded. This provoked the hoftile Indians to fuch a degree, that they carried these pacific people quite away from Muskingum to a bank of They finding corn dear and scarce in Sandusky creek. their new habitations, obtained liberty to come back in the fall of the same year to Muskingum, that they might collect the crops they had planted before their removal.

When the white people, at and near Monongahala, heard that a number of Indians were at the Moravian towns on the Muskingum, they gave out that their intentions were hostile. Without any further enquiry, 160 of them crossed the Ohio, and put to death these harmless, inosfensive people, though they made no resistance. In conformity to their religious principles, these Moravians patiently submitted to their hard fate, without attempting

1782.

to destroy their murderers. Upwards of ninety of this pacific fet were killed by men, who while they called themselves Christians, were infinitely more deserving of the name of Savages than those whom they inhumanly murdered.

Soon after this unprovoked massacre, a party of the Americans set out for Sandusky, to destroy the Indian towns in that part; but the Delawares, Wyandots, and other Indians opposed them. An engagement ensued, in which some of the white people were killed, and several were taken prisoners. Among the latter was Col. Crawford and his son in law. The Colonel was sacrificed to the manes of those Indians, who were massacred at the Moravian towns. The other prisoners were put to death with the tomahawk.

Throughout the American war, the defolation brought by the Indians on the frontier fettlements of the United States, and on the Indians by the Americans, were sufficient to excite compassion in the most obdurate hearts.

Not only the men and warriors, but the women and children, and whole fettlements were involved in the promiscuous desolations. Each was made a scourge to the other, and the unavoidable calamities of war were rendered doubly distressing, by the dispersion of families, the breaking up of settlements, and an addition of savage cruelties to the most extensive devastation of those things, which conduce to the comfort of human life,

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1780.

Campaign of 1780 in the Southern States.

THE successful defence of Savannah, together with the subsequent departure of Count D'Estaing from he coast of the United States, foon disfipated all apprehenions, previously entertained for the safety of New-York. These circumstances pointed out to Sir Henry Clinton, the propriety of renewing offensive operations. Having effectd nothing of importance for the two preceding campaigns, e turned his attention fouthwardly, and regaled himfelf with flattering prospects of easy conquest, among the weak-States. The suitableness of the climate for winter opeations, the richness of the country, and its distance from upport, defignated South-Carolinaas aproper object of enerprize. No fooner therefore was the departure of the french fleet known and confirmed, than Sir Henry Clinton ommitted the command of the royal army in New-York to Lieut. Gen Kniphausen, and embarked for the southward, with four flank battalions, 12 regiments, and a corps British, Hessian and provincial, a powerful detachment of rtillery, 250 cavalry, together with an ample fupply of pilitary stores and provisions. Vice Admiral Arbuthnot, rith a fuitable naval force, undertook to convey the troops o the place of their destination. The whole failed from New-York. After a tedious and dangerous passage, in thich part of their ordnance, most of their artillery, nd all their cavalry horses were lost, the fleet arrived t Tybee in Georgia. In a few days, the transports with he army on board, failed from Savannah for Northdifto, and after a short passage, the troops made good heir landing about 30 miles from Charleston, and tool offestion of John's Island and Stono ferry, and soon afer of James Island, and Wappoo-cut. --- A bridge was brown over the canal, and part of the royal army took oft on the banks of Ashley river opposite to Charleston. The affembly of the State was sitting when the British inded, but broke up after "delegating to Gov. Rutledge, nd fuch of his council as he could conveniently confult, power to do every thing necessary for the public good,

1779. Dec. 20

except

except the taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial." The Governor immediately ordered the militian rendezvous. Though the necessity was great, few obeyed the pressing call. A proclamation was issued by the Governor, under his extraordinary powers, requiring such of the militia as were regularly draughted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town, to repair to the American standard and join the garrison immediately, under pain of consiscation. This severe though necessary measure produced very little effect. The country was and desired by the latest all the country was and desired by the latest all the country was and desired by the latest all the country was and desired by the latest all the country was and desired by the latest all the country was and desired by the latest all the country was and desired by the latest all the country was a

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much despirited by the late repulse at Savannah.

The tedious passage from New-York to Tybee, gam the Americans time to fortify Charleston. This together with the loffes which the royal army had fustained in the late tempestuous weather, induced Sir Henry Clinton, to dispatch an order to New-York for reinforcements of men and stores. He also directed Major General Prevol to fend on to him twelve hundred men from the garrifor Brigadier General Patterson, at the head this detachment, made his way good over the rive Savannah, and through the intermediate country, and foon after joined Sir Henry Clinton near the banks of Ashley river. The royal forces without delay proceeds to the fiege. At Wappoo on James Island, they forma a depot, and erected fortifications both on that island and on the main, opposite to the fouthern and westerner tremities of Charleston. An advanced party crosse Ashley river, and soon after broke ground at the dif tance of 1100 yards from the American works. A fuccessive periods, they erected five batteries on Charleston neck. The garrison was equally assiduous in preparin for its defence. The works which had been previous thrown up, were strengthened and extended. Lines and redoubts were continued across from Cooper to Ashle river. In front of the whole was a strong abbatis, an a wet ditch made by passing a canal from the heads Swamps, which run in opposite directions. Betweenth abbatis and the lines, deep holes were dugat short interval The lines were made particularly strong on the right in left, and so constructed as to rake the wet ditch in

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oft its whole extent. To fecure the center, a horn- 1780. ork had been erected, which being closed during the ege formed a kind of citadel. Works were also thrown o on all fides of the town, where a landing was praccable. Though the lines were no more than field orks, yet Sir Henry Clinton treated them with the refectful homage of three parallels. From the 3d to the oth of April, the first parallel was completed, and immeately after the town was fummoned to furrender. e 12th, the batteries were opened, and from that day an most incessant fire was kept up. About the time the Vando river, nine miles from town, and another at empriere's point, to preserve the communication with nton, to be country by water. A post was also ordered at a ferry nents of ver the Santee, to favour the coming in of reinforce-Prevol, ments, or the retreat of the garrison when necessary. garrison he British marine force consisting of one ship of sifty he head uns, two of forty four guns, four of thirty two, and Mar. 21. he rive he Sandwich armed ship, crossed the bar in front of Rery, and ellion road and anchored in Five fathom hole. The
anks of American force opposed to this was the Bricole, which
occeeded hough pierced for forty four guns, did not mount half
formed f that number, two of 32 guns, one of 28, two of at island 6, two of 20, and the brig Notre Dame of 16 guns. terner he sirst object of its commander Commodore Whipple, crossed as to prevent Admiral Arbuthnot from crossing the ar, but on farther examination this was found to be ks. A ppracticable. He therefore fell back to Fort Moultrie, narlefton and afterwards to Charlefton. The crew and guns of all reparing is vessels, exercises. is vessels, except one, were put on shore to reinforce ines and

Admiral Arbuthnot weighed anchor at Five fathom April 9. Ashle ole, and with the advantage of a strong southerly wind, atis, and ad slowing tide, passed Fort Moultrie without stopping engage it, and anchored near the remains of Fort weenth ohnson. Colonel Pinckney who commanded on Sulli-interval an's Island, kept up a brisk and well directed fire on the light in their passage, which did as great execution as the interval and their passage, which did as great execution as Vol. II. from

from running into Cooper river, eleven vessels were sun in the channel opposite to the exchange. The batters of the beliegers foon obtained a superiority over the of the town. The former had 21 mortars and royal the latter only two. The regular force in the gan rison was much inferior to that of the besiegers, and be few of the militia could be perfuaded to leave their plan tations, and reinforce their brethren in the capital. camp was formed at Monk's corner, to keep up the communication between the town and country, and the militia without the lines, were requested to rendezvou there: But this was furprifed and routed by Lieutenan Colonel Tarleton. The British having now less to fear extended themselves to the eastward of Cooper river. Tw hundred and fifty horse, and 600 infantry were detache on this fervice, but nevertheless in the opinion of Apr. 16 council of war, the weak state of the garrison, made

improper to detach a number sufficient to attack the fmall force. About this time Sir Henry Clinton receive the to

a reinforcement of 3000 men from New-York. Al cond council of war held four days after the first, agree

that " a retreat would be attended with many distression be A inconveniences, if not altogether impracticable," and a y ftr vised, "that offers of capitulation before their affair sh ha became more critical should be made to General Clinton which might admit of the army's withdrawing, and a sking ford security to the persons and property of the inhabition of tants." These terms being proposed, were instantly as the jected, but the garrison adhered to them, in hopes the indeed succours would arrive from the neighbouring States are described to resist in expectation of favorable event at day the British speedily completed the investiture of the terms both by land and water. A free Admiral A plant

town, both by land and water. After Admiral Arbuth rms into had passed Sullivan's Island, Colonel Pinckney, will go his 150 of the men under his command, were withdraw entition. May 6. from that post to Charleston. Soon after the fortered the island was surrendered without opposition to Captal by all the Hudson of the royal navy. On the same day, then mains of the American cavalry which escaped from the furph

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rprise at Monk's corner, on the 14th of April, were gain furprifed by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton at Lanau's ferry on Santee, and the whole either killed, capared or dispersed. While every thing prospered with e British, Sir Henry Clinton began a correspondence ith General Lincoln, and renewed his former offers to e garrison in case of their surrender. Lincoln was difofed to close with them, as far they respected his army, at some demur was made with a view of gaining better rms for the citizens, which it was hoped might be oband the rms for the citizens, which it was hoped might be obindezvon fined on a conference. This was asked: But Clinton
eutenan astead of granting it, answered "that hostilities should
to feat commence at 8 o'clock." Nevertheless, neither party
er. Two red till nine. The garrison then recommenced hostilidetache es. The besiegers immediately followed, and each canon of onaded the other with unusual briskness. The British
made atteries of the third parallel opened on this occasion.
tack the hells and careases were thrown into almost all parts of receive he town, and feveral houses were burned. receive to town, and feveral houses were burned. The cannon A so and mortars played on the garrison at a less distance than hundred yards. The Hessian chasseurs were so near istression at American lines, that with their risles they could eave and a so with the west disternance on the American works, and were ready for and a sking a general assault by land and water. All expectate inhabit on of succour was at an end. The only hope less than the stantly reast that 9000 men, the flower of the British army, sepress the onded by a naval force, might fail in storming extensive mes defended by less than 3000 men. Under these circumstances, the siege was protracted till the 1 tth. On the event sat day a great number of the citizens addressed General second in a petition, expressing their acquiescence in the Arbuth rms which Sir Henry Clinton had offered, and requestincy, will go his acceptance of them. On the reception of this ney, will g his acceptance of them. On the reception of this withdraw entition, General Lincoln wrote to Sir Henry, and often forth red to accept the terms before proposed. The yal commanders wishing to avoid the extremity of them, and unwilling to press to unconditional submission an enemy, whose friendship they wished to concili-

1780. ate, returned a favourable answer. A capitulation figned, and Major Gen. Leslie took possession of the May 12. town on the next day. The loss on both fides during the fiege was nearly equal. Of the King's troops, were killed, and 189 wounded. Of the Americans & were killed and 140 wounded. Upwards of 400 piece of artillery were furrendered. By the articles of capi tulation, the garrison was to march out of town, and deposit their arms in front of the works, but the drum were not to beat a British march, nor the colors to be un cased. The continental troops and seamen were to kee their baggage, and remain prisoners of war till exchanged The militia were to be permitted to return to their respect tive homes as prisoners on parole, and while they adher ed to their parole, were not to be molested by the Britis troops in person or property. The inhabitants of all con ditions to be confidered as prisoners on parole, and a hold their property on the same terms with the militi The officers of the army and navy to retain their for vants fwords, piftols and baggage unfearched. The were permitted to fell their horses, but not to remove A vessel was allowed to proceed to Philadelphi with Gen. Lincoln's dispatches unopened.

The numbers which furrendered prisoners of war, in clusive of the militia and every adult male inhabitant, wa above 5000, but the proper garrifon at the time of the furrender did not exceed 2500. The precise number of privates in the continental army was 1977, of which num ber 500 were in the hospitals. The captive officers were much more in proportion than the privates, and confit ed of one Major General, 6 Brigadiers, 9 Colonels, 4 Lieut. Colonels, 15 Majors, 84 Captains, 84 Lieutenant 32 second Lieutenants and Enfigns. The gentlement the country, who were mostly militia officers, from a sen of honor repaired to the defence of Charleston, thoug they could not bring with them privates equal to their n spective commands. The regular regiments were full order officered, though greatly deficient in privates.

This was the first instance, in which the American had attempted to defend a town. The unfuccessful even

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with its consequences, demonstrated the policy of facrifiing the towns of the Union, in preference to endangerng the whole, by rifquing too much for their defence.

Much cenfure was undefervedly cast on Gen. Lincoln, or attempting the defence of Charleston. Though the contrary plan was in general the best, he had particular reasons to justify his deviation from the example of the commander in chief of the American army. on was the only confiderable town in the fouthern exreme of the confederacy, and for its preservation, South-Carolina and the adjacent States feemed willing to make great exertions. The reinforcements, promised for its defence, were fully sufficient for that purpose. The Congress, and the States of North and South-Carolina gave Gen. Lincoln ground to expect an army of 9900 men to second his operations, but from a variety of causes this army, including the militia, was little more than one their fer practicable, he had such assurances of support, that he could not attempt it with propriety. Before he could be remort ascertained of the sutility of these assurances, the British ladelphi had taken such a position, that in the opinion of good udges a retreat could not be successfully made.

Shortly after the furrender, the commander in chief adopted fundry measures to induce the inhabitants to return to their allegiance. It was stated to them in an hand bill, which though without a name feemed to flow from authority: "That the helping hand of every man was wanting to re-establish peace and good government--That the commander in chief wished not to draw them into danger, while any doubt could remain of his fuccess, but as that was now certain, he trusted that one and all would heartily join, and give effect to necessary measures for that purpose." Those who had families were informed "That they would be permitted to remain at home, and form a militia for the maintenance of peace and good order, but from those who had no families it was expected that they would chearfully affift in driving their oppressors, and all the miseries of war, from their borders." To fuch it was promised "That when on service, they would

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1780. May 22.

would be allowed pay, ammunition and provisions, in the fame manner as the King's troops." About the fame time, Sir Henry Clinton in a proclamation declared "That if any person should thenceforward appear in arms in order to prevent the establishment of his Majesty's go. vernment in that country, or should under any pretence or authority whatever, attempt to compel any other perfon or perfons fo to do, or who should hinder the King's faithful subjects from joining his forces, or from per. forming those duties their allegiance required, such perfons should be treated with the utmost severity, and their estates be immediately seized for confiscation." In a few days after, Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace, of fered to the inhabitants, with some exceptions, " Pardon

ment exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures."

The capital having furrendered, the next object with the British was to secure the general submission of the

for their past treasonable offences, and a re-instatement

in the possession of all those rights and immunities which

they heretofore had enjoyed under a free British govern-

whole body of the people.

To this end, they posted garrisons in different parts of the country to awe the inhabitants. They also marched with upwards of 2000 men towards North-Carolina This caused an immediate retreat of some parties of Americans, who had advanced into the northern extremity of South-Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charleston. One of these, consisting of about 300 continentals commanded by Col. Buford, was overtaken at Wachaws by Lt. Col. Tarleton and completely defeated, Five out of fix of the whole were either killed or fo badly wounded, as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle; and this took place though they made fuch ineffectual opposition as only to kill 12 and wound five of the British. This great disproportion of the killed on the two fides, arose from the circumstance that Tarleton's party refused quarter to the Americans, after they had ceased to refist and laid down their arms.

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Sir Henry Clinton having left about 4000 men for 1780. he fouthern fervice, embarked early in June with the main army for New-York. On his departure the command devolved on Lieut. Gen. Cornwallis. The feafon of the year, the condition of the army, and the unfettled fate of South-Carolina, impeded the immediate invasion f North-Carolina. Earl Cornwallis dispatched instrucions to the principal loyalists in that state to attend to he harvest, prepare provisions, and remain quiet till the atter end of August or beginning of September. His lordship committed the care of the frontier to Lord Rawdon, and repairing to Charleston, devoted his prinripal attention to the commercial and civil regulations of outh-Carolina. In the mean time, the impossibility of leeing with their families and effects, and the want of in army to which the militia of the States might repair. induced the people in the country, to abandon all schemes of farther relistance. At Beaufort, Camden, and Ninetysix, they generally laid down their arms, and submitted either as prisoners or as subjects. Excepting the extrenities of the state bordering on North Carolina, the inhabitants who did not flee out of the country preferred submission to resistance. This was followed by an unufual calm, and the British believed that the state was thoroughly conquered. An opportunity was now given to make an experiment from which much was expected, and for the omission of which, Sir Henry Clinton's predeteffor Sir William Howe, had been severely censured. It had been confidently afferted, that a majority of the Americans were well affected to the British government, and that under proper regulations, substantial service night be expected from them, in restoring the country o peace. At this crisis every biass in favor of Congress was removed. Their armies in the fouthern States were either captured or defeated. There was no regular bree to the fouthward of Pennsylvania, which was suficient to awe the friends of royal government. incouragement was held forth, to those of the inhabiants who would with arms support the old constitution. Confiscation and death were threatened as the confequence

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quence of opposing its re-establishment. While then was no regular army within 400 miles to aid the friend of independence, the British were in force posted over all the country. The people were thus left to themselve or rather strongly impelled to abandon an apparent finking cause, and arrange themselves on the side of the conquerors. Under these favorable circumstances, the experiment was made, for supporting the British interes by the exertion of loyal inhabitants, unawed by Amer can armies or republican demagogues. It foon appeared that the difguife which fear had imposed, subfifted a longer than the present danger, and that the minds of the people though overawed were actuated by an hoffile spirit. In prosecuting the scheme for obtaining a mile tary aid from the inhabitants, that tranquillity which pro vious successes had procured was disturbed, and that a cendency which arms had gained was interrupted. The inducement to fubmission with many, was a hope of ob taining a respite from the calamities of war, under the shelter of British protection. Such were not less asso nished than confounded, on finding thenselves virtual called upon to take arms in support of royal government This was done in the following manner: After the inhabitants by the specious promises of protection and securi ty, had generally submitted as subjects, or taken the parole as prisoners of war, a proclamation was if fued by Sir Henry Clinton which fet forth "That it wa proper for all persons to take an active part in settling and fecuring his Majesty's government "--- And in which it was declared " That all the inhabitants of the province who were then prisoners on parole (those who were take en in Fort Moultrie and Charleston, and such as were actual confinement excepted) should, from and after the 20th of June, be freed from their paroles, and restore to all the rights and duties belonging to citizens and inha bitants." And it was in the same proclamation farther declared that all persons under the description abovemen tioned, who should afterwards neglect to return to the allegiance, and to his Majesty's government, should be confidered as enemies and rebels to the fame, and treate according there

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cordingly." It was defigned by this arbitrary change of e political condition of the inhabitants from prisoners citizens, to bring them into a dilemma, which would rce them to take an active part in fettling and fecuring e royal government. It involved a majority in the nefity of either fleeing out of the country, or of becomg a British militia. With this proclamation the deenfion of British authority commenced, for though the habitants from motives of fear or convenience, had nerally submitted, the greatest part of them retained affection for their American brethren, and shuddered the thought of taking arms against them. Among ch it was faid "if we must fight, let it be on the side of merica, our friends and countrymen". A great numr confidering this proclamation as a discharge from eir paroles, armed themselves in self defence, being inced thereto by the royal menaces, that they who did treturn to their allegiance as British subjects, must ex-At to be treated as rebels. A greater number from ing in the power of the British, exchanged their paroles prisoners for the protection of subjects, but this was ne in many cases, with a secret reservation of breakthe compulsory engagement, when a proper opportuty should present itself.

A party always attached to royal government, though ey had conformed to the laws of the state, rejoiced in eastendancy of the royal arms, but their number was considerable, in comparison with the multitude who re obliged by necessity, or induced by convenience, to cept of British protection.

The precautions taken to prevent the rifing of the valists in North-Carolina, did not answer the end. veral of the inhabitants of Tryon county, under the rection of Col. Moore took up arms, and were in a few is defeated by the whig militia, commanded by Gen. therford. Col. Bryan another loyalist, though equalinguicious as to time, was successful. He reached the strength regiment stationed in the Cheraws with about 800 m, assembled from the neighbourhood of the river dkin.

X

Vol. II.

While

While the conquerors were endeavoring to strengthe the party for royal government, the Americans were inattentive to their interests. Governor Rutledge wh during the fiege of Charleston had been requested Gen. Lincoln to go out of town, was industriously an fuccessfully negociating with North-Carolina, Virgin and Congress, to obtain a force for checking the progre of the British arms. Representations to the same effect had also been made in due time by Gen. Lincoln. gress ordered a considerable detachment from their ma army, to be marched to the Southward. North-Carolin also ordered a large body of militia to take the fel As the British advanced to the upper country of South Carolina, a confiderable number of determined whigs n treated before them, and took refuge in North-Carolin In this class was Col. Sumter a distinguished partiza who was well qualified for conducting military open A party of exiles from South-Carolina, ma choice of him for their leader. At the head of the little band of freemen, he returned to his own state, a took the field against the victorious British, after t inhabitants had generally abandoned all ideas of farth This unexpected impediment to the extent of British conquests roused all the passions which dila pointed ambition can inspire. Previous successes h flattered the royal commanders with hopes of distinguil ed rank among the conquerors of America, but renewal of hostilities obscured the pleasing profes Flushed with the victories they had gained in the first the campaign, and believing every thing told them favo able to their wishes to be true, they conceived that the had little to fear on the fouth fide of Virginia. experience refuted these hopes, they were transport with indignation against the inhabitants, and confi feveral of them on suspicion of their being accessary the recommencement of hostilities.

July 12. after the fall of Charleston, when 133 of Col. Sume corps attacked and routed a detachment of the references and militia, which were posted in a lane at William

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n's plantation. This was the first advantage gained over e British, fince their landing in the beginning of the ar. The steady persevering friends of America, who ere very numerous in the North-western frontier of outh-Carolina, turned out with great alacrity to join ol. Sumter, though opposition to the British governent, had entirely ceased in every other part of the State, is troops in a few days amounted to 600 men. With is increase of strength, he made a spirited attack on a rty of the British at Rocky Mount, but as he had no tillery, and they were fecured under cover of earth led in between logs, he could make no impression upon em, and was obliged to retreat. Senfible that the inds of men are influenced by enterprise and that to keep litia together it is necessary to employ them, this ace partizan attacked another of the royal detachments, nlifting of the Prince of Wales' regiment, and a large dy of tories posted at the Hanging rock. The Prince Wales' regiment was almost totally destroyed. From 8 it was reduced to 9. . The loyalifts, who were of at party which had advanced from North Carolina unr Col. Bryan, were dispersed. The panic occasioned by e fall of Charleston daily abated. The whig militia on. extremities of the state formed themselves into pars, under leaders of their own choice, and fometimes acked detachments of the British army, but more quently those of their own countrymen, who as a al militia were co-operating with the King's forces. hile Sumter kept up the spirits of the people by a cession of gallant enterprizes, a respectable continenforce was advancing through the middle States, for relief of their fouthern brethren, With the hopes Mar. 26. relieving Charleston, orders were given for the Maryd and Delaware troops to march from Gen. Washingis head quarters to South-Carolina, but the Quarterfler-general was unable to put this detachment in mon as foon as was intended.

The manufacturers employed in providing for the army uld neither go on with their business, nor deliver the cles they had completed, declaring they had fuffered much from the depreciation of the money, that they

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would

would not part with their property without immedian payment. Under these embarrassing circumstances, the Southern States required an aid from the northern arm to be marched through the intermediate space of 800 The Maryland and Delaware troops were win great exertions at length enabled to move. After march ing through Jersey and Pennsylvania, they embarked the Head of Elk and landed foon after at Petersburg and thence proceeded through the country towards South Carolina. This force was at first put under the comman of Major Gen. Baron de Kalb, and afterwards of Go Gates. The fuccess of the latter in the northern can paigns of. 1776 and 1777, induced many to believe the his presence as commander of the southern arm would re-animate the friends of Independence. Whi Baron de Kalb commanded, a council of war had advi ed him to file off from the direct road to Camden, to wards the well cultivated fertlements in the vicinity of the Waxhaws: But Gen. Gates on taking the command d not conceive this movement to be necessary, supposing to be most for the interest of the States that he show proceed immediately with his army, on the shortest ro to the vicinity of the British encampments. This le through a barren country, in passing over which, it Americans severely felt the scarcity of provisions. The murmurs became audible, and there were ftrong appear ances of mutiny, but the officers who shared every lamity in common with the privates interposed, and co ciliated them to a patient sufferance of their hard h They principally subsisted on lean cattle, picked up int The whole army was under the necessity of win green corn, and peaches in the place of bread. The were subfifted for several days on the latter alone. D fenteries became common in consequence of this di The heat of the feason, the unhealthiness of the clima together with insufficient and unwholsome food, three ened destruction to the army. The common foldiers, stead of desponding, began after some time to be mer with their misfortunes. They used "ftarvation" as cant word, and vied with each other in burlefquing the

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fination. The wit and humour displayed on the occafon contributed not a little to reconcile them to their sufferings. The American army, having made its way Aug. 13. through a country of pine-barrens, fand-hills and fwamps, reached Clermont, 13 miles from Camden. day, Gen. Stephens arrived with a large body of Virgipia militia.

As the American army approached South-Carolina, lord Rawdon concentered his force at Camden. The retreat of the British from their out-posts, the advances of the American army, and the impolitic conduct of the conquerors towards their new fubjects, concurred at this juncture to produce a general revolt in favor of Congress. The people were daily more diffatisfied with their fituation. Tired of war, they had submitted to British government with the expectation of bettering their condition, but they foon found their mistake. The greatest addrefs should have been practifed towards the inhabitants, mand in order to second the views of the Parent State in reppoing uniting the revolted colonies to her government. he show the people might be induced to return to the condition rtest ro of subjects, their minds and affections, as well as their This le armies, ought to have been conquered. This delihich, the cate task was rarely attempted. The officers, prins. The vates, and followers of the royal army, were generally more intent on amassing fortunes by plunder and rapine, than on promoting a re-union of the differenced members of the empire. Instead of increasing the number of real friends to royal government, they difgusted those that they found. The high spirited citizens of Carolina, impatient of their rapine and infolence, rejoiced in the prospect of freeing their country from its oppressors. Motives of this kind, together with a prevailing attachment to the cause of Independence, induced many to break through all ties to join Gen. Gates, and more to with him the completest success.

The fimilarity of language and appearance between o be mer the British and American armies, gave opportunities for imposing on the inhabitants. Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton with a party, by affuming the name and dress of Americans, passed themselves near Black river, for

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1780. the advance of General Gates' army. Some of the neighbouring militia were eagerly collected by Mr. Brade ley, to co-operate with their supposed friends, but after fome time the veil being thrown afide, Bradley and his volunteers were carried to Camden, and confined there a prisoners. Thed og man a down by min shangars on

> General Gates on reaching the frontier of South-Ca. rolina, iffued a proclamation inviting the patriotic citizens " to join heartily in rescuing themselves and their country, from the oppression of a government imposed on them by the ruffian hand of conquest." He also gave " affurances of forgiveness and perfect security, to such of the unfortunate citizens as had been induced by the terror of fanguinary punishment, the menace of confiscation on, and the arbitrary measures of military domination, apparently to acquiefce under the British government, and to make a forced declaration of allegiance and fupport to a tyranny, which the indignant fouls of citizen refolved on freedom, inwardly revolted at with horror and deteftation," excepting only from this amnelly, "those who in the hour of devastation, had exercised ads of barbarity and depredation on the persons and property of their fellow citizens? The army with which Gates advanced, was by the arrival of Stephens' militing increased nearly to 4000 men, but of this large number, the whole regular force was only 900 infantry and 70 cavalry. On the approach of Gates, Earl Cornwalls haftened from Charleston to Camden, and arrived there on the 14th. The force which his Lordship found collected on his arrival, was 1700 infantry and 300 cavalry This inferior number would have justified a retreat, but he chose rather to stake his fortune on the decision of a battle. On the night of the 15th, he marched from Camden with his whole force, intending, to attack the Americans in their camp at Clermont. In the fame night Gates, after ordering his baggage to the Waxhaws, put his army in motion, with an intention of advancing to an eligible position, about 8 miles from Camden. American army was ordered to march at 10 o'clock P. M. in the following order. Colonel Armand's advance

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cavalry. Colonel Porterfield's light infantry, on the right flank of Colonel Armand's in Indian-file, 200 yards from the road. Major Armstrong's light infantry in the same order as Colonel Porterfield's on the left flank of the legion advanced guard of foot, composed of the advanced piquets, first brigade of Maryland, second brigade of Maryland---division of North-Carolina, Virginia rear guard, volunteer cavalry, upon flanks of the baggage equally divided. The light infantry upon each flank were ordered to march up and support the cavalry, if it should be attacked by the British cavalry, and Colonel Armand was directed in that case to stand the attack at all events.

The advance of both armies met in the night and engaged. Some of the cavalry of Armand's legion, being wounded in the first fire fell back on others, who recoiled fo fuddenly, that the first Maryland regiment was broken, and the whole line of the army was thrown into confusion. This first impression struck deep, and dispirited the militia. The American army foon recovered its order, and both they and their adversaries kept their ground, and occasionally skirmished through the night. Colonel Porterfield, a most excellent officer, on whose abilities General Gates particularly depended, was wounded in the early part of this night attack. In the morning a severe and general engagement took place. first onset, the great body of the Virginia militia, who formed the left wing of the army, on being charged with fixed bayonets by the British infantry, threw down their arms, and with the utmost precipitation fled from the field. A confiderable part of the North-Carolina militia followed the unworthy example, but the continentals who formed the right wing of the army, inferior as they were in numbers to the British, stood their ground and maintained the conflict with great resolution. Never did men acquit themselves better: for some time they had clearly the advantage of their opponents, and were in possession of a confiderable body of prisoners: overpowered at last by numbers, and nearly furrounded by the enemy, they were compelled reluctantly to leave the ground. In jus-

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tice to the North-Carolina militia, it should be remarked that part of the brigade commanded by Gen. Gregon acquitted themselves well. They were formed immediate ly on the left of the continentals, and kept the field while they had a cartridge to fire. Gen. Gregory him. felf was twice wounded by a bayonet in bringing off hi men, and feveral of his brigade, who were made prisoners, had no wounds except from bayonets.* Two hundred and ninety American wounded prisoners were carried into Camden, after this action, of this number 206 were continentals, 82, were North-Carolina militia, and 2 were Virginiamilitia. The refistance made by each corps, may in fome degree be estimated from the number of wounded. The Americans loft the whole of their artillery, eight field piece, upwards of 200 waggons, and the greatest part of their bag gage, almost all their officers were separated from their respective commands. Every corps was broken in action and dispersed. The fugitives who fled by the common road, were purfued above 20 miles by the horse of Tarleton's legion, and the way was covered with arms, baggage and waggons. Baron de Kalb, the second in command, a brave and experienced officer, was taken prifoner and died on the next day of his wounds. The baron who was a German by birth, had long been in the French fervice. He had travelled through the British provinces, about the time of the stamp act, and is said to have reported to his fuperiors on his return, "that the colonists were so firmly and universally attached to Great Britain, that nothing could shake their loyalty." The Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory in Annapolis, with a very honorable inscription. General Rutherford of North-Carolina, was wounded and taken prisoner.

The royal army fought with great bravery, but the completeness of their victory was in a great degree owing to their superiority in cavalry, and the precipitate flight of the American militia. Their whole loss is supposed to have amounted to several hundreds. To add to the distressed

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^{*} This detail was furnished by Mr. Williamson, surgeon-general of the North-Carolina militia, who after the battle went into Camden with a flag

streffes of the Americans, the defeat of Gates was imediately followed by the furprise and dispersion of Sum-'s corps. While the former was advancing near to the ritish army, the latter who had previously taken post tween Camden and Charleston, took a number of isoners and captured fundry British stores, together th their convoy. On hearing of the defeat of his perior officer, he began to retreat with his prisoners d stores. Tarleton with his legion, and a detachment infantry, purfued with fuch celerity and address as to ertake and furprize this party at Fishing Creek. The mish rode into their camp before they were prepared r defence. The retreating Americans, having been and The series of the retreating Americans, having been and The series of the reference. The retreating Americans, having been are days with little or no sleep, were more obedient to be calls of nature, than attentive to her first law self-series bag of the reservation. Sumter had taken every prudent precaution to prevent a surprize, but his videttes were so overme with fatigue, that they neglected their duty. With common cat difficulty he got a sew to stand their ground for a short me, but the greater part of his corps sled to the river or the bods. He lost all his artillery, and his whole detachment in common as either killed, captured or dispersed. The prisoners he delately taken were all retaken. On the 17th and 18th Aug. about 150 of Gates' army rendezvoused at Charbeen in the These had reason to apprehend that they would been in the. These had reason to apprehend that they would the Briimmediately pursued and cut to pieces. There was ad is said a magazine of provisions in the town, and it was with-"that it any kind of defence. It was therefore concluded to ached to treat to Salisbury. A circumstantial detail of this, loyalty." ould be the picture of complicated wretchedness. rable in the carried off. The inhabitants hourly expecting the lina, was ritish to advance into their fettlement, and generally tending to flee, could not attend to the accommodation the fuffering foldiers. Objects of distress occurred in eee owing try quarter. There were many who stood in need of ate flight affistance, but there were few who could give it to supposed em. Several men were to be seen with but one arm, distressed to the distressed werty, hurry and confusion, promiscuously marked the vot. II. Vol. II.

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1780. gloomy fcene. Under these circumstances the remain of that numerous army, which had lately caused fur terror to the friends of Great-Britain, retreated to Sall bury and foon after to Hillsborough. General Gates ha previously retired to this last place, and was there in con cert with the government of North-Carolina, devile plans of defence, and for renewing military operation

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Though there was no army to oppose Lord Cornwi lis, yet the feafon and bat health of his army, restrains him from pursuing his conquests. By the complete di persion of the continental forces, the country was in h The present moment of triumph seemed them fore the most favorable conjuncture, for breaking to spirits of those who were attached to independence. prevent their future co-operation with the armies of Con gress, a severer policy was henceforward adopted.

Unfortunately for the inhabitants, this was taken up grounds which involved thousands in diffress, and not afe in the loss of life. The British conceived themselves in po fession of the rights of sovereignty over a conquered country and that therefore the efforts of the citizens, to affert the independence exposed them to the penal consequences treason and rebellion. Influenced by these opinions, an transported with indignation against the inhabitants, the violated the rights which are held facred between ind pendent hostile nations. Orders were given by Lo Cornwallis "that all the inhabitants of the province, wh had submitted, and who had taken part in this reto should be punished with the greatest rigor --- that the should be imprisoned, and their whole property take from them or destroyed." He also ordered in the mo positive manner "that every militia man, who had be arms with the British, and afterwards joined the Ama cans, should be put to death." At Augusta, at Camdena luth elsewhere, several of the inhabitants were hanged in co fequence of these orders. The men who suffered h been compelled by the necessities of their families, and prospect of faving their property, to make an involunta fubmission to the royal conquerors. Experience for ord taught them the inefficacy of these submissions. This elor remain

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heir opinion absolved them from the obligations of their ngagements to support the royal cause, and left them at berty to follow their inclinations. To treat men thus ircumstanced, with the severity of punishment usully inflicted on deserters and traitors, might have a polical tendency to discourage farther revolts, but the imartial world must regret that the unavoidable horrors of var, should be aggravated by such deliberate effusions of uman blood.

Notwithstanding the decisive superiority of the British rmies in South-Carolina, several of the most respectable itizens, though in the power of their conquerors, refifted very temptation to resume the character of subjects. nforce a general fubmission, orders were given by lord Cornwallis immediately after his victory, to fend out of outh-Carolina a number of its principal citizens. Gov. Gadsden, most of the civil and militia officers and ome others, who had declined exchanging their paroles Aug. 27. or the protection of British subjects, were taken up, put a board a vessel in the harbour, and fent to St. Augus-General Moultrie remonstrated against the connement and removal of these gentlemen, as contrary to heir rights derived from the capitulation of Charleston. They at the fame time challenged their adversaries to rove any conduct of theirs, which merited expulsion rom their country and families. They received no farher satisfaction, than that the measure had been "adoptd from motives of policy." To convince the inhabiants, that the conquerors were feriously resolved to renove from the country, all who refused to become subhad to eds, an additional number of about thirty citizens of the Amer outh-Carolina, who remained prisoners on parole, were amden a ent off to the same place in less than three months. autherford and Col. Isaacs both of North-Carolina, who affered h ad been lately taken near Camden, were affociated with es, and them.

rience for ord Cornwallis, in about four weeks after his victory, if. Sept., 16.

This led a proclamation for the fequestration of all estates
the slonging to the active friends of Independence. By

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this he constituted "John Cruden commissioner, with ful power and authority, on the receipt of an order or warrant to take into his possession the estates both real and perfonal (not included in the capitulation of Charleston) of those in the fervice or acting under the authority of the rebel Congress, and also the estates, both real and perfonal, of those persons who by an open avowal of m bellious principles, or by other notorious acts, manifest ed a wicked and desperate perseverance in opposing the re-establishment of his Majesty's just and lawful authority;" and it was farther declared "That any person or persons obstructing or impeding the said commissioner the execution of his duty, by the concealment or removal of property or otherwise, should on conviction h punished as aiding and abetting rebellion."

An adherent to Independence was now confidered a one who courted exile, poverty and ruin. Many yielde to the temptation, and became British subjects. The mile chievous effects of flavery, in facilitating the conquesto the country, now became apparent. As the slaves ha no interest at stake, the subjugation of the State was a matter of no consequence to them. Instead of aidinging its defence, they by a variety of means threw the weigh of their little influence into the opposite scale.

Though numbers broke through all the ties which bound them to support the cause of America, illustrion facrifices were made at the shrine of liberty. Several the richest men in the state suffered their fortunes to to main in the power and possession of their conqueres rather than stain their honor, by joining the enemies of their country. The patriotism of the ladies contribute They crowded on board prife much to this firmness. ships, and other places of confinement, to folace that fuffering countrymen. While the conquerors wer regaling themselves at concerts and affemblies, they coul obtain very few of the fair fex to affociate with them but no sooner was an American officer introduced as prisoner, than his company was sought for, and his per fon treated with every possible mark of attention and n On other occasions the ladies in a great measur

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effred from the public eye, wept over the distresses of heir country, and gave every proof of the warmest atschment to its fuffering cause. Among the numbers tho were banished from their families, and whose proerty was feized by the conquerors, many examples ould be produced of ladies cheerfully parting with their ons, husbands and brothers, exhorting them to fortitude nd perseverance; and repeatedly entreating them never o fuffer family-attachments to interfere with the duty hey owed to their country. When, in the progress of derson or he war, they were also comprehended under a general moner is sentence of banishment, with equal resolution they parted or removith their native country, and the many endearments of section be some---followed their husbands into prison-ships and listant lands, where they were reduced to the necessity of idered a receiving charity.

The mile of honor and the love of their country, a great propor-Animated by fuch examples, as well as by a high fense nquesto tion of the gentlemen of South-Carolina deliberately adlaves hat hered to their first resolution, of risquing lifeand fortune in support of their liberties. Hitherto the royal forces in South-Carolina had been attended with almost uninterrupted fuccefs. Their standards overspread the country, penetrated into every quarter, and triumphed over all opposition.

> The British ministry by this flattering posture of affairs, were once more intoxicated with the hope of fubjugating America. New plans were formed, and great expectations indulged, of speedily re-uniting thie disevered members of the empire. It was now afferted with a confidence bordering on presumption, that such troops as fought at Camden, put under such a commander as Lord Cornwallis, would foon extirpate rebellion, fo effectually as to leave no vestige of it in America. The British ministry and army by an impious confidence in their own wisdom and prowess, were duly prepared to give, in their approaching downfal, an useful lesson to the

> The disaster of the army under General Gates, overspread at first the face of American affairs, with a dismal

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mal gloom, but the day of prosperity to the Unite States, began as will appear in the sequel, from that me ment to dawn. Their prospects brightened up, which those of their enemies were obscured by disgrace, broke by deseat, and at last covered with ruin. Elated with their victories, the conquerors grew more insolent and rapacious, while the real friends of independence became resolute and determined.

We have feen Sumter penetrating into South-Carolina and re-commencing a military opposition to British go vernment. Soon after that event, he was promoted by Governor Rutledge, to the rank of Brigadier General About the fame time Marion was promoted to the fame rank, and in the northeastern extremities of the State, fuccessfully profecuted a fimilar plan. This valuable of cer after the furrender of Charleston, retreated to North Carolina. On the advance of General Gates, he ob tained a command of fixteen men. With these he pene trated through the country, and took a position near the Santee. On the defeat of General Gates, he was compelled to abandon the State, but returned after an ab fence of a few days. For feveral weeks he had under his command only 70 men. At one time hardships and dangers' reduced that number to 25, yet with this inconfiderable number he fecured himself in the midst of surrounding foes. Various schemes were tried to detach the inhabitants from co-operating with him. Major Wemys burned fcores of houses on Pedce, Lynch's creat and Black river, belonging to fuch as were supposed to do duty with Marion, or to be subservient to his views This had an effect different from what was intended Revenge and despair co-operated with patriotism, to make these ruined men keep the field. Having no houses to shelter them, the camps of their countrymen became their homes. For feveral months, Marion and his party were obliged to fleep in the open air, and to shelter themselves in the recesses of deep swamps. From these retreats they fallied out, whenever an opportunity harraffing the enemy, or of ferving their country prefented itself.

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Major ch's creck pposed to his views intended to make houses to became his party of shelter com these tunity of presented

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Opposition to British government was not wholly conned to the parties commanded by Sumter and Marion. was at no time altogether extinct in the extremities of e State. The disposition to revolt, which had been excited the approach of General Gates, was not extinguished his defeat. The spirit of the people was overawed, it not subdued. The severity with which revolters who Il into the hands of the British were treated, induced ofe who escaped to persevere and seek safety in swamps. From the time of the general submission of the inhatants in 1780, pains had been taken to encrease the eval force by the co-operation of the yeomanry of the ountry. The British persuaded the people to form a roymilitia, by representing that every prospect of succeedg in their scheme of independence was annihilated, nd that a farther opposition would only be a prolongaon of their distresses, if not their utter ruin. Major erguson of the 71st regiment, was particularly active this business. He visited the settlements of the disafcted to the American cause, and collected a corps of ilitia of that description, from which much active ferce was expected. He advanced to the northwestern ulements, to hold communication with the loyalists of oth Carolinas. From his presence, together with asbrances of an early movement of the royal army into lotth-Carolina, it was hoped that the friends of royal overnment would be roused to activity in the service of heir King, In the mean time every preparation was ade for urging offensive operations, as soon as the seaon and the state of the stores would permit.

That spirit of enterprize, which has already been contioned as beginning to revive among the American illitia about this time, prompted Col. Clarke to make a attempt on the British post at Augusta in Georgia; at in this he failed and was obliged to retreat. Major urguson with the hope of intercepting his party, kept ear the mountains and at a considerable distance from apport. These circumstances, together with the depressions of the loyalists, induced those hardy republicans, the reside on the west side of the Alleghany mountains,

1780.

to form an enterprize for reducing that diftinguished pur tizan. This was done of their own motion, without am direction from the governments of America, or from the officers of the continental army.

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There was, without any apparent defign, a powerful combination of feveral detached commanders of feveral adjacent States, with their respective commands of mill tia. Col. Campbell of Virginia, Colonels Cleveland Shelby, Sevier, and M'Dowel of North-Carolina, togother with Colonels Lacey, Hawthorn and Hill, of South Carolina, all rendezvoused together, with a number of men amounting to 1600, though they were under no go neral command, and though they were not called upon to embody by any common authority, or indeed by any authority at all, but that of a general impulse on their own minds. They had fo little of the mechanism of regular army, that the Colonels of some of the States e or by common consent, commanded each day alternately, mor The hardships these volunteers underwent were very great prospect of them subsisted for weeks together, without talking bread or salt, or spiritous liquors, and slept in the was woods without blankets. The running stream quenched with their thirst. At night the earth afforded them a bed, and is so the heavens, or at most the limbs of trees were their only gui covering. Ears of corn or pompions thrown into the fire, in with occasional supplies of beef or venison, killed and igo roasted in the woods, were the chief articles of their provisions. They had neither commissaries, quarter-masters, nor stores of any kind. They selected about a thousand of their best men, and mounted them on their sleetes is, horses. These attacked Major Ferguson on the top of King's in the mountain, near the confines of North and South-Caro, so line. The Americans sounded three parties. Col. Lacevost last lina. The Americans formed three parties. Col. Lacey of South-Carolina led one, which attacked on the west, end the The two others were commanded by Cols. Campbell tize and Cleveland, one of which attacked on the east end and isting the other in the centre. Ferguson with great boldness add attacked the assailants with fixed bayonets, and compelence led them successively to retire, but they only fell backs little way, and getting behind trees and rocks, renewed to fixed the state of their

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owerful severa of milieveland. a, togeby any on their ism of a

eir fire in almost every direction. The British being covered, were aimed at by the American marksmen, d many of them were flain. An unufual number of e killed were found to have been shot in the head. Rimen took off riflemen with fuch exactness, that they killeach other when taking fight, fo effectually that their es remained after they were dead, one shut and the oer open, in the usual manner of marksmen when levelg at their object. Major Ferguson displayed as much f South eavery as was possible in his situation: But his encamp-mber of cent on the top of the mountain was not well chosen, as er no go gave the Americans an opportunity of covering them-ed upon ves in their approaches. Had he pursued his march charging and driving the first party of the militia charging and driving the first party of the militia sich gave way, he might have got off with the most of men, but his unconquerable spirit disdained either to men, but his unconquerable spirit disdained either to e States e or to furrende ernately, mortal wound. e or to furrender. After a severe conflict he received No chance of escape being left, and prospect of successful resistance being at an end, the nout tast onest was ended by the submission of the survivors. wards of 800 became prisoners, and 225 had been quenched eviously killed or wounded. Very sew of the assailabed, and sell, but in their number was Col. Williams a discheir only guished militia officer in Ninety-Six district, who had their only guished militia officer in Ninety-Six district, who had the fire, in very active in opposing the re-establishment of Brilled and a government. Ten of the royal militia who had surtheir produced were hanged by their conquerors. They were comasters, worked to this measure by the severity of the British, thousand to had lately hanged several of the captured Americal firestell as, in South-Carolina and Georgia. They also alleged to the men who suffered were guilty of previous felocith-Caro, for which their lives were forfeited by the laws of land. The fall of Ferguson was in itself a great loss west, end the royal cause. He possessed succommon. To stinguished capacity for planning great designs, he although added the practical abilities necessary to carry them indeed to boldness dided the practical abilities necessary to carry them indeed to back the compelent over him and his party, in a great defense of frustrated a well concerted scheme for strengthening that Vol. II. their Vol. II. \mathbf{z}

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1780. the British army by the co-operation of the tory inhabit ants, whom he had undertaken to discipline and prepare for active service. The total rout of the party, whi had joined Major Ferguson, operated as a check on the future exertions of the loyalists. The fame timid can on, which made them averse to joining their countrym in oppoling the claims of Great Britain, restrained the from rifquing any more in support of the royal can Henceforward they waited to fee how the scales were like ly to incline, and referved themselves till the British my, by its own unaffisted efforts, should gain a decid fuperiority.

> In a few weeks after the general action near Camde Lord Cornwallis left a fmall force in that village, a marched with the main army towards Salisbury, inten ing to push forwards in that direction. While on way thither, the North Carolina militia was very dustrious and fuccessful in annoying his detachment Riflemen frequently penetrated near his camp, and for behind trees made fure of their objects. The late on querors found their fituation very uneafy, being expole to unfeen dangers if they attempted to make an exce sion of only a few hundred yards from their main bot The defeat of Major Ferguson, added to these circul stances, gave a serious alarm to lord Cornwallis, and foon after retreated to Winnsborough. As he retin the militia took feveral of his waggons, and fingle m often rode up within gunshot of his army, discharg their pieces, and made their escape. The panic oca oned by the defeat of Gen. Gates had in a great me fure worn off. The defeat of Major Ferguson a the confquent retreat of lord Cornwallis, encount ed the American militia to take the field, and necessity of the times induced them to submit to fin er discipline. Sumter soon after the dispersion of corps on the 18th of August, collected a band of lunteers, partly from new adventurers, and partlyfr those who had escaped on that day. With the though for three months there was no continental an in the State, he constantly kept the field in support American independence. He varied his position fr

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g mounted his followers he infested the British pars with frequent incursions --- beat up their quarters --tercepted their convoys, and so harraffed them with ccessive alarms, that their movements could not be ade but with caution and difficulty. His spirit of enrprize was so particularly injurious to the British, at they laid fundry plans for destroying his force, but cy all failed in the execution. He was attacked at Nov. 12, road river by Major Wemys, commanding a corps of fantry and dragoons. In this action the British were feated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner. ght days after he was attacked at Black-Stocks, near Nov. 20. yger river, by Lieut. Col. Tarleton. The attack was gun with 170 dragoons and 80 men of the 63d regient. A confiderable part of Sumter's force had been rown into a large log barn, from the apertures of sich they fired with fecurity. Many of the 63d rement were killed. Tarleton charged with his cavalry, it being unable to dislodge the Americans retreated, d Sumter was left in quiet possession of the field. he loss of the British in this action was considerable. mong their killed were three officers, Major Money, eut. Gibson and Cope. The Americans lost very few, t Gen. Sumter received a wound, which for several onths interrupted his gallant enterprizes in behalf of s country. His zeal and activity in animating the litia, when they were discouraged by repeated defeats, d the bravery and good conduct he displayed in funy attacks on the British detachments, procured him e applause of his countrymen, and the thanks of Con-

For the three months which followed the defeat of e American army near Camden, Gen. Gates was instriously preparing to take the field. Having collected force at Hillsbury he advanced to Salisbury, and very Novem. on after to Charlotte. He had done every thing in s power to repair the injuries of his defeat, and was in in a condition to face the enemy; but from that influence

1780. d had frequent skirmishes with his adversaries. Hav-

1780. influence which popular opinion has over public affair in a commonwealth, Congress resolved to supersede his and to order a court of enquiry to be held on history duct. This was founded on a former refolve, that who ever lost a post should be subject to a court of inquir The cases were no ways parallel, he had lost a bat but not a post. The only charge that could be exhib ted against Gen. Gates was that he had been defeate His enemies could accuse him of no military crime, w less that to be unsuccessful might be reckoned so. The public, fore with their losses, were desirous of a change

public, fore with their losses, were desirous of a chang and Congress found it necessary to gratify them, thou at the expence of the feelings of one of their best, a till August 1780, one of their most successful office post Virginia did not so soon forget Saratoga. When so to Gates was at Richmond on his way home from Carolin For Dec. 28. the house of Burgesses of that State unanimously relevant that a committee of four be appointed to wait to Gen. Gates, and affure him of their high regard a esteem, and that the remembrance of his former glor a particle on the fortune; but that ever mindful of his great merit, the would omit no opportunity of testifying to the worlds with gratitude which the country owed to him in his milita sufficiency. character."

These events together with a few unimportant stiff form misses not worthy of being particularly mentioned, the going ed the campain of 1780 in the southern States. The afforded ample evidence of the folly of prosecuting to Macrican war. Though British conquests had rapid most succeeded each other, yet no advantages accrued to the victors. The minds of the people were unsubdued, with rather more alienated from every idea of returning their former allegiance. Such was their temper, the two the expense of retaining them in subjection, would be exceeded all the profits of the conquest. British gas of sons kept down open resistance in the vicinity of the places where they were established, but as soon as the profits of revolt hostile to Great-Britain always displayed fully the profits of the conquest.

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elf, and the standard of independence when soever it was prudently raised, never wanted followers from the active and spirited part of the community.

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C H A P. XX.

Campaign of 1780, in the Northern States.

TTHILE the war raged in South-Carolina, the campaign of 1780, in the northern States was barren of important events. At the close of the preteding campaign, the American northern army took

best, a teding campaign, the American northern army took post at Morristown and built themselves huts, agreeably when so the practice which had been first introduced at Valleya Carolin Forge. This position was well calculated to cover the country from the excursions of the British, being only to wait to wait to miles from New-York.

Lord Sterling made an ineffectual attempt to surprise January aparty of the enemy on Staten-Island. While he was reverse on the island, a number of persons from the Jersey side merit, the passed over and plundered the inhabitants, who had subserved to the British government. In these times of conshis milital fusion, licentious persons fixed themselves near the lines, which divided the British from the Americans. Whenwhich divided the British from the Americans. Whenortant shi cover an opportunity offered, they were in the habit of
ioned, changes in the pretence of distressing their enemies, comfecuting the most shameful depredations. In the first
had rapid months of the year 1780, while the royal army was
rued to the weakened by the expedition against Charleston, the Britubdued, tish were apprehensive for their safety in New-York. The
rare circumstance which then existed of a connexion retween the main and York island, by means of ice seemed
would be to invite to the enterprise, but the force and equipments
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An incursion was made into Jersey from New-York with 5000 men, commanded by Lieutenant General June 16. Kniphausen. They landed at Elizabeth-town, and proceeded to Connecticut farms. In this neighbourhood livel the Reverend Mr. James Caldwell, a Presbyterian clergyman of great activity, ability and influence, whose fuc cefsful exertions in animating the Jerfey militia to defend their rights, had rendered him particularly obnoxious to When the royal forces were on their way into the country, a foldier came to his house in his absence, and thot his wife Mrs. Caldwell inftantly dead, by levelling his piece directly at her through the window of the room, in which the was fitting with her children. He body at the request of an officer of the new levies, was moved to some distance, and then the house and every o b thing in it was reduced to ashes. The British burnt about 12 other houses, and also the Presbyterian church, and on a then proceeded to Springfield. As they advanced they were annoyed by Colonel Dayton with a few militia. On their approach to the bridge near the town, they were but farther opposed by General Maxwell, who with a few cile. continental troops was prepared to dispute its passage They made a halt and foon after returned to Elizabeth line town. Before they had retreated, the whole American war army at Morristown marched to oppose them. While this royal detachment was in Jersey, Sir Henry Clinton re-diff. turned with his victorious troops from Charleston to calle New-York. He ordered a reinforcement to Kniphausen, had and the whole advanced a fecond time towards Spring fers field. They were now opposed by General Greene, preand the whole advanced a fecond time towards Springwith a confiderable body of continental troops. Col-ed onel Angel with his regiment and a piece of artillery was war posted to secure the bridge in front of the town. A fe vere action took place which lasted forty minutes. Su perior numbers forced the Americans to retire. General Greene took post with his troops on a range of hills, it hopes of being attacked. Instead of this the British be- frie gan to burn the town. Near fifty dwelling houses were selve reduced to ashes. The British then retreated, but wert purfued by the enraged militia, till they entered Elizabeth town

own. The next day they fet out on their return to New-York. The lofs of the Americans in the action vas about 80, and that of the British was supposed to be onfiderably more. It is difficult to tell what was the precise object of this expedition. Perhaps the royal ommanders hoped to get possession of Morristown, and o destroy the American stores. Perhaps they flattered hemselves that the inhabitants were so dispirited by the ecent loss of Charlestown, that they would submit without refistance; and that the foldiers of the continental rmy would defert to them: But if thefe were their views, hey were disappointed in both. The firm opposition which was made by the Jersey farmers, contrasted with he conduct of the same people in the year 1776, made it evident that not only their aversion to Great-Britain, continued in full force; but that the practical habits of ferrice and danger had improved the country militia, fo as to bringthem near to an equality with regular troops.

By fuch defultory operations, were hostilities carried on at this time in the northern States. Individuals were killed, houses were burnt, and much mischief done; but nothing was effected which tended either to recon-

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The loyal Americans who had fled within the British Elizabeth lines, commonly called refugees, reduced a predatory merican war into system. On their petition to Sir Henry Clinton, Thile this they had been in the year 1779, permitted to fet up a nton rediffinct government in New-York, under a jurisdiction eston to called the honorable board of associated loyalists. They had fomething like a fleet of small privateers and cruifers, by the aid of which, they committed various de-Greens, predations. A party of them who had formerly belongdlery was warehouses, and carried off every thing that fell in their way. They also carried off two loaded brigs and two or three schooners. In a proclamation they left behind General them, they observed "that they had been deprived of their property, and compelled to abandon their dwellings, ritish be friends and connections. And that they conceived themafes were felves warranted by the laws of God and man, to wage

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war against their persecutors, and to endeavour by every means in their power, to obtain compensation for their sufferings." These associated loyalists eagerly embraced every adventure, which gratisted either their avarice or their revenge. Their enterprises were highly lucrative to themselves, and extremely distressing to the Americans. Their knowledge of the country and superior means of transportation, enabled them to make hasty descents and successful enterprises. A war of plunder in which the feelings of humanity were often suspended, and which tended to no valuable public purpose, was carried on in the shameful manner, from the double excitements of prost and revenge. The adjoining coasts of the continent, and especially the maritime parts of New-Jersey, became scene of waste and havoc.

The distress which the Americans suffered from the diminished value of their currency, though felt in the year 1778 and still more so in the year 1779, did not arrive to its highest pitch till the year 1780. Under the preffure of fufferings from this cause, the officers of the Jerfey line addressed a memorial to their state legislature, fetting forth " that four months pay of a private, would not procure for his family a fingle bushel of wheat, that the pay of a Colonel would not purchase oats for his horse; that a common laborer or express rider received four times as much as an American officer." They urged " that unless a speedy and ample remedy was provided, the total diffolution of their line was inevitable," and concluded with faying " that their pay should either be made up in Mexican dollars or in fomething equivalent." In addition to the infufficiency of their pay and support, other causes of discontent prevailed. The original idea of a continental army, to be raifed, paid, subfifted and regulated upon an equal and uniform principle, had been in a great measure exchanged for State establishments This mischievous measure partly originated from necessive ty, for State credit was not quite fo much depreciated as continental. Congress not possessing the means of supporting their army, devolved the business on the component parts of the confederacy. Some States, from their internal oy every for their mbraced varice or lucrative nericans neans of ents and hich the l which

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ternal ability and local advantages, furnished their troops only with cloathing, but with many conveniencies. thers fupplied them with fome necessaries, but on a ore contracted fcale. A few from their particular fiation could do livile or nothing at all. The officers d men in the routine of duty, mixed daily and comred circumftancesu Those who fared worse than oers, were diffatisfied with a fervice which made fuch innious distinctions. From causes of this kind, superded to a complication of wants and fufferings, a difofition to mutiny began to shew itself in the American my. This broke forth into full action among the foleis. which were stationed at fort Schuyler. Thirtyof of the men of that garrifon went off in a body. eing purfued fixteen of them were overtaken, and thiren of the fixteen, were instantly killed. About the me time, two regiments of Connecticut troops mutinied degot under arms! They determined to return home, to gain subfiftence at the point of the bayonet. Their ficers reasoned with them, and urged every argument, a could either interest their pride or their passions. hey were reminded of their good conduct, of the immane objects for which they were contending, but their fiwer was "our fufferings are too great and we want effent relief." After much expostulation they were at ngth prevailed upon to go to their hutts. It is remarkthat this mutinous disposition of the Connecticut sops, was in a great measure quelled by the Pennsylunia line, which in a few months, as shall hereafter be tated, planned and executed a much more ferious reolt, than that which they now suppressed. While the my was in this feverish state of discontent from their cumulated diffreffes, a printed paper addressed to the diers of the continental army, was circulated in the merican camp. This was in the following words. The time is at length arrived, when all the artifices and ffehoods of the Congress and of your commanders, can no nger conceal from you the miseries of your situation. ou are neither fed, cloathed nor paid. Your numbers ewasting away by sickness, famine and nakedness, and Vot. II. A a rapidly

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expired. This is now the period to fly from flavery a fraud."

"I am happy in acquainting the old countryments the affairs of Ireland are fully fettled, and that Gra Britain and Ireland are united as well from interest from affection. I need not tell you who are born in merica, that you have been cheated and abused. You are both sensible that in order to procure your liberty must quit your leaders, and join your real friends, it from to impose upon you, and who will receive your open arms, kindly forgiving all your errors. Your told you are surrounded by a numerous militiad. This also falso. Affociate then together, make use of your is locks, and join the British army, where you will be permitted to dispose of yourselves as you please."

About the same time or rather a little before, the marrived of the reduction of Charleston, and the capu of the whole American southern army. Such was firmness of the common soldiery, and so strong their tachment to the cause of their country, that though a ger impelled, want urged, and British favor invited the to a change of sides, yet on the arrival of but a scanty in ply of meat for their immediate subsistence, military in ty was cheerfully performed, and no uncommon delection took place.

that Gen. Washington was obliged to call on the magintrates of the adjacent counties for specified quantities provisions, to be supplied in a given number of day. At other times he was compelled to send out detachment of his troops, to take provisions at the point of the but onet from the citizens. This expedient at length said for the country in the vicinity of the army afforded further supplies. These impressments were not only in jurious to the morals and discipline of the army, but the ed to alienate the affections of the people. Much off support, which the American general had previously a perienced from the inhabitants, proceeded from the ference of treatment they received from their own arm compared.

ompared with what they suffered from the British. The

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General, whom the inhabitants hitherto regarded as their rotestor, had now no alternative but to disband his roops, or to support them by force. The fituation of ca. Washington was eminently embarrassing. w looked to him for provisions, the inhabitants for proclion of their property. To supply the one, and not offend he other, feemed little less than an impossibility. To preerre order and subordination in an army of free repubcans, even when well fed, paid and clothed, would have een a work of difficulty, but to retain them in service od restraia them with discipline, when destitute, not onof the comforts, but often of the necessaries of life, equired address and abilities of such magnitude as are arely found in human nature. In this choice of diffiulties Gen. Walhington not only kept his army together, ut conducted with fo much diferetion, as to command he approbation both of the army and of the citizens. So great a scarcity, in a country usually abounding ith provisions, appears extraordinary, but various renote causes had concurred about this time to produce an aprecedented deficiency. The feafons both in 1779 and 780 were unfavorable to the crops. The labors of the ulbandmen, who were attached to the cause of indeendence, had been frequently interrupted by the calls or militia duty. Those who cared for neither side, or ho from principles of religion held the unlawfulness of ar, or who were fecretly attached to the royal interest, ad been very deficient in industry. Such sometimes reaoned that all labor on their farms, beyond a bare supy of their own necessities, was unavailing; but the prinpal cause of the sufferings of the army was the daily iminishing value of the continental bills of credit. The rmers found, that the longer they delayed the payment taxes, the less quantity of country produce would difharge the stipulated sum. They also observed, that the onger they kept their grain on hand, the more of the aper currency was obtained in exchange for it. ther discouraged them from felling, or made them very ldy in coming to market. Many secreted their provi-

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fions and denied their having any, while others who wen contiguous to the British, secretly fold to them for go or filver. The patriotifm which at the commencemen of the war had led fo many to facrifice property for the good of their country, had in a great degree subside Though they still retained their good wishes for the cause yet these did not carry them so far as to induce a wi linguess to exchange the hard earned produce of the farms, for a paper currency of a daily diminishing value For provisions carried to New-York, the farmers recen ed real money, but for what was carried to the Amen cans, they only received paper. The value of the fin was known, of the other daily varying, but in an u ceasing progression from bad to worse. Laws were mad against this intercourse, but they were executed in the manner laws uniformly have been in the evafion which multitudes find an immediate interest.

In addition to these disasters from short crops, and depreciating money, disorder and confusion pervaded to departments for supplying the army. Systems for the purposes had been hastily adopted, and were very indequate to the end proposed. To provide for an arm under the best establishments, and with a full militar chest, is a work of difficulty, and though guarded by the precautions which time and experience have suggested opens a door to many frauds; but it was the hard of the Americans to be called on to discharge this dut without sufficient knowledge of the business, and under ill digested systems, and with a paper currency that we not two days of the same value. Abuses crept in frauds were practised, and occonomy was exiled.

To obviate these evils, Congress adopted the expedent of sending a committee of their own body to the camp of their main army. Mr. Schuyler of New-York Mr. Peabody of New-Hampshire, and Mr. Mathewso South-Carolina, were appointed. They were furnish with ample powers and instructions to reform abuses to alter preceding systems, and to establish new ones their room. This committee proceeded to camp in May 1780, and thence wrote sundry letters to Congress.

and the States, in which they confirmed the representations previously made of the distresses and disorders every where prevalent. In particular they stated" that the army was unpaid for five months—that it seldom had more, than six days provision in advance, and was on several occasions for sundry successive days without meat—that the army was destitute of forage—that the medical department had neither sugar, cossee, tea, chocolate, wine nor spiritous liquors of any kind—that every department of the army was without money, and had not even the shadow of credit left—that the patience of the soldiers, born down by the pressure of complicated sufferings, was on the point of being exhausted."

A tide of misfortunes from all quarters was at this time pouring in upon the United-States. There appeared not however, in their public bodies, the smallest difpolition to purchase safety by concessions of any fort. They seemed to rise in the midst of their distresses, and to gain strength from the pressure of calamities. When Congress could neither command money nor credit for the subsistence of their army, the citizens of Philadelphia formed an affociation to procure a supply of necessary articles for their fuffering foldiers. The fum of 300,000 dollars was subscribed in a few days, and converted into a bank, the principal defign of which was to purchase provisions for the troops, in the most prompt and efficacious manner. The advantages of this institution were great, and particularly enhanced by the critical time in which it was instituted. The loss of Charleston, and the subsequent British victories in Carolina, produced effects directly the reverse of what were expected. It being the deliberate resolution of the Americans never to return to the government of Great-Britain, fuch unfavorable events as threatened the subversion of independence, operated as incentives to their exertions. The patriotic flame which had blazed forth in the beginning of the war was re-kindled. A willingness to do, and to fuffer, in the cause of American liberty, was revived in the breasts of many. These dispositions were invigor-

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o. ated by private affurances, that his most Christian Majest would, in the course of the campaign, send a powerful armament to their aid. To excite the States to be in readiness for this event, Congress circulated among then an address of which the following is a part. "The crisis calls for exertion. Much is to be done in a little time, and every motive that can stimulate the mind of man presents itself to view. No period has occurred in this long and glorious struggle, in which indecision would be so destructive on the one hand, and on the other, no conjuncture has been more favorable to great and deciding efforts."

The powers of the committee of Congress in the Ame rican camp, were enlarged fo far as to authorife them in frame and execute fuch plans as, in their opinion, would most effectually draw forth the resources of the country in co-operating with the armament expected from France In this character they wrote fundry letters to the States, stimulating them to vigorous exertions. It was agreed to make arrangements for bringing into the field 35,000 effective men, and to call on the States for specific supplies of every thing necessary for their support. To obtain the men it was proposed to complete the regular regiments by draughts from the militia, and to make up what they fell short of 35,000 effectives, by calling forth more of the militia. Every motive concurred to roul the activity of the inhabitants. The States nearly exhausted with the war, ardently wished for its determination. An opportunity now offered for firiking a decifive blow, that might at once, as they supposed, rid the country of its diffresses. The only thing required on the part of the United States, was to bring into the field 35,000 men, and to make effectual arrangements for their Support. The tardiness of deliberation in Congress was in a great measure done away, by the full powers given to their committee in camp. Accurate estimates were mad of every article of fupply, necessary for the ensuing campaign. These, and also the numbers of men wanted were quotaed on the ten northern States in proportion to their abilities and numbers. In conformity to these requisitions

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nifitions, vigorous refolutions were adopted for carrying sem into effect of Where voluntary enliftments fell thort the proposed number, the deficiencies were, by the ws of feveral States, to be made up by draughts or lots om the militia, The towns in New-England and the ounties in the middle States, were respectively called on or a specified munber of men. Such was the zeal of he people in New-England, that neighbours would ofen club together, to engage one of their number to go nto the army. Being without money, in conformity to he practice usual in the early stages of society, they paid be military duty with cattled Twenty head were freuently given as a reward for eighteen months fervice. faryland directed her Lieutenants of counties to class all he property in their respective counties, into as many and classes as there were men wanted, and each class as by law obliged within ten days thereafter, to furnish mable bodied recruit to ferve during the war, and in afe of their neglecting or refusing so to do, the county legrenants were authorifed to procure men at their exences at any rate not exceeding 15 pounds in every undred pounds worth of property, classed agreeably to he law. Virginia also classed her civizens, and called pon the respective classes for every fifteenth man for pubc fervice. Pennsylvania concentered the requisite powrincher Bresident Joseph Reed, and authorised him to raw forth the resources of the State, under certain linitations, and if necessary to declare martial law over the bate. The degillative part of these complicated arrangenehts was speedily passed, but the execution though unommonly vigorous lagged far behind. Few occasions buld occur in which it might fo fairly be tried, to what xtent in conducting a war, a variety of wills might be rought to act in uniform. The refult of the experiment as, that however favorable republics may be to the libery and happiness of the people in the time of peace, bey will be greatly deficient in that vigor and dispatch, which military operations require, unless they imitate the olicy of monarchies, by committing the executive departnents of government to the direction of a fingle willed

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While thefe preparations were making in America the armament which had been promifed by his most Chris tian Majefty was on its wayd As foon as it was know in France, that a refolution was adopted, to fend of troops to the United States, the young French hobili discovered the greatest zeal to be employed on that in vice so Court favor was scancely ever folicited with mo earnestucis, than was the honor of ferving under Gene ral Washington and The number of applicants was mu greater than the fervice required in The disposition Support the American revolution, was not only prevaled in the court of France, but it animated the whole bod of the nation. The winds and waves did not fecond ardent wishes of the French troops all hough they faile from France on the first of May 10780, they did not reach port in the United States will the rock of July Following On that day to the great joy of the Americans, Mide To may arrived at Rhode-Mand, with a foundrion of few fail of the line, five frigates, and five fmaller arms veffels. Henlikewife convoyed a fleet of transports will four old French regiments, befides the legion de Lauzu and a battalion of artillery, autounting in the whole 6000 men, all mider the command of Lieutenant Gen ral Count de Rochambeau. To the French as foon they landed possession was given of the fores and batters on the illand, and by their exentions, they were foon pu in a high state of defenced. In a few days after their a rival, von address of congratulation from the Gener -Affembly of the State of Rhode-Island, was prefented Count de Rochambeau, in which they expressed, "the most grateful fense of the magnanimous aid afforded the United States, by their illustrious friend and ally the Monarch of France, and alforgave affurances of ever exertion in their power for the Supply of the Freed forces, with all manner of refreshments and necessaria for rendering the fervice happy and agreeable." Roc ambeau declared in his answer, iff that he only brough over the vanguard of, a much greater force which destined for their aids that he was ordered by the Kin his mafter to affure them, that his whole power should cxerto While

certed for their support:" "The French troops" he id "were under the strictest discipline, and acting under corders of General Washington, would live with the mericans as brethren. He returned their compliments an affurance, that as brethren, not only his own life, at the lives of all those under his command were devoted to their service."

Gen. Washington recommended in public orders to the merican officers, as a symbol of friendship and affect on for their allies, to wear black and white cockades, the round to be of the first colour, and the relief of the second.

The French troops, united both in interest and affection in the Americans, ardently longed for an opportunity co-operate with them against the common enemy, he continental army wished for the same with equal are or. One circumstance alone seemed unfavourable to this irit of enterprise. This was the deficient clothing of a Americans. Some whole lines, officers as well as en, were shabby, and a great proportion of the privates ere without shirts. Such troops, brought along side ten of allies sully clad in the elegance of uniforminal must have been more or less than men to seel no decadation on the contrast.

Admiral Arbuthnot had only four fail of the line at ew-York, when M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode-Island. his inferiority was in three days reversed, by the arrival Admiral Greaves with fix fail of the line. The Brih Admiral, having now a superiority, proceeded to hode-Island. He foon discovered that the French were rfectly secure from any attack by fea. Sir Henry Clinn, who had returned in the preceding month with his durious troops from Charleston, embarked about 8000 his best men, and proceeded as far as Huntingdon-bay Long-Island, with the apparent design of concurring ith the British fleet, in attacking the French force at hode-Island. When this movement took place, Gen. Tathington fet his army in motion, and proceeded to ceks kill. Had Sir Henry Clinton profecuted what apared to be his defign, Gen. Washington intended to Vol. H. Bb have

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have attacked New-York in his absence. Preparation were made for this purpose, but Sir Henry Clinton in stantly turned about from Huntingdon-bay towards New York.

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In the mean time, the French fleet and army bein blocked up at Rhode-Island, were incapacitated from to operating with the Americans. Hopes were neverthan less indulged, that by the arrival of another fleet of most Christian Majesty then in the West-Indies, unde the command of Count de Guichen, the superiority would be fo much in favor of the allies, as to enable them profecute their original intention, of attacking New York. When the expectations of the Americans wer raifed to the highest pitch, and when they were in gre forwardness of preparation to act in concert with the allies, intelligence arrived that Count de Guichen h failed for France. This disappointment was extreme mortifying. The Americans had made uncommon exe tions, on the idea of receiving fuch an aid from the allies, as would enable them to lay effectual fiege to New York, or to strike some decisive blow. Their towering expectations were in a moment levelled with the du Another campaign was anticipated, and new shades we added to the deep cloud, which for some time past h overshadowed American affairs.

The campaign of 1780, passed away in the norther States as has been related, in successive disappointment and reiterated distresses. The country was exhausted the continental currency expiring. The army for was of subsistence, keptinactive, and brooding over its calamities. While these disasters were openly menacing them in of the American cause, treachery was silently under mining it. A distinguished officer engaged for a simplated sum of money, to betray into the hands of the British an important post committed to his care. General Arnold who committed this foul crime was a namost Connecticut. That State, remarkable for the puriosi its morals, for its republican principles and patriotism was the birth place of a man to whom none of the othe States have produced an equal. He had been among

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he first to take up arms against Great-Britain, and to 1780. iden the breach between the Parent State and the coloes. His distinguished military talents had procured in every honor a greatful country could bestow. Poets nd Painters had marked him as a fuitable subject for the folay of their respective abilities. He possessed an eleated feat in the hearts of his countrymen, and was in e full enjoyment of a substantial fame, for the purchase which, the wealth of worlds would have been infufficia nt. His country had not only loaded him with honors, n forgiven him his crimes. Though in his accounts painst the States there was much room to suspect fraud d imposition, yet the recollection of his gallantry and ood conduct, in a great measure served as a cloak to cor the whole. He who had been prodigal of life in s country's cause was indulged in extraordinary deands for his fervices. The generosity of the States d not keep pace with the extravagance of their faprite officer. A sumptuous table and expensive equiige, unsupported by the resources of private fortune. nguarded by the virtues of economy and good maagement, foon increased his debts beyond a possibility of is discharging them. His love of pleasure produced the ve of money, and that extinguished all fensibility to e obligations of honor and duty. The calls of luxury ere various and preffing, and demanded gratification hough at the expence of fame and country. Contracts ere made, speculations entered into, and partnerships stituted, which could not bear investigation. Oppress on, extortion, misapplication of public money and roperty, furnished him with the farther means of ratifying his favorite passions. In these circumstances, change of fides afforded the only hope of evading a rutiny, and at the same time, held out a prospect of eplenishing his exhausted coffers. The disposition of he American forces in the year 1780, afforded an oportunity of accomplishing this so much to the advange of the British, that they could well afford a liberal eward for the beneficial treachery. The American ary was stationed in the strong holds of the highlands

on both fides of the North-rivers In this arrangement Atnold folicited for the command of West-point The has been called the Gibraltar of America. It was but after the lofs of fort Montgomery, for the defence of the North river, and was deemed the most proper for con manding its navigation. Rocky midges rifing one behing another, rendered it incapable of being jovested, by than twenty thousand men. I Though some even the entertained doubts of Arnold's fidelity, yet Gen. Wall ington in the unsuspecting spirit of a foldier, believing to be impossible that honor should be wanting in a break which he knew was the feat of valor, cheerfully grant his request, and intrusted him with the important pol Gen. Arnold thus invested with command, carried on negociation with Sir Henry Clinton, by which it w agreed that the former should make a disposition of hi forces, which would enable the latter to furprife Well point under fuch circumstances, that he would have the garrison so completely in his power, that the troops mi either lay down their arms or be cut to pieces. The object of this negociation was the strongest post of the Americans, the thoroughfare of communication, between the eastern and southern State, and was the repositor of their most valuable stores. The loss of it would have been severely felt. hes torred to so

The agent employed in this negociation on the pa of Sir Henry Clinton, was Major Andre, adjutant gener of the British army, a young officer of great hopes, an of uncommon merit. Nature had bestowed on hims elegant tafte for literature and the fine arts, which by dustrious cultivation he had greatly improved. He po felled many amiable qualities, and very great accomplish His fidelity together with his place and character eminently fitted him for this business; but his high ideas candor, and his abhorrence of duplicity, made him ind pert in practifing those arts of deception which it requi ed. To favor the necessary communications, the Vo ture floop of war had been previously stationed in the North river, as near to Arnold's posts as was practical without exciting suspicion. Before this a written come

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nondence between Arnold and Andre, had been for fome 1780. time carried on, under the fictitious names of Gustavus and Anderson. A boat was sent at night from the shore Sep. 21, to fetch Major André. On its return, Arnold met him at the beach, without the posts of either army. Their business was not finished till it was too near the dawn of day for Andre to return to the Vulture. Arnold told him he must be concealed till the next night. For that purpole, he was conducted within one of the American posts, against his previous stipulation and knowledge, and continued with Arnold the following day. The boatmen refused to carry him back the next night, as the Vulture, from being exposed to the fire of some cannon brought up to annoy her, had changed her position. Andre's return to New-York by land, was then the only practicable mode of escape. To favor this he quitted his uniform which he had hitherto worn under a furtout, for a common coat, and was furnished with a horse, roops mil and under the name of John Anderson, with a passport "to go to the lines of White Plains or lower if he thought proper, he being on public bufinefs." He advanced an, betwee lone and undisturbed a great part of the way. When he would have three of the New-York militia, who were with others n the par jor André instead of producing his pass, asked the man ant gener who stopt him "where he believed " hopes, an "to below" meaning New-York. He replied "fo do I" on him and declared himself a British officer, and pressed that hich by in he might not be detained. He soon discovered his mis-He post take. His captors proceeded to fearth him: Sundry pa-accomplish pers were found in his possession. These were secreted in his boots, and were in Arnold's hand writing. They

igh idease contained exact returns of the state of the forces, order hance and defences at West-Point, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, &c.

André offered his captors a purse of gold and a new raluable watch, if they would let him pass, and permanent practical provision and future promotion, if they would content come sey and accompany him to New-York. They nobly differented.

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1780. dained the proffered bribe, and delivered him a prisone to Lieut. Col. Jameson, who commanded the scout. ing parties. In testimony of the high sense entertained of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of John Paulding David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert, the captors of André, Congress resolved "That each of them re ceive annually two hundred dollars in speice during life, and that the board of war be directed to procure for each of them a filver medal, on one fide of which should be a shield with this inscription, Fidelity; and on the other, the following motto, Vincit Amor Patria: and that the commander in chief be requested to present the same, with the thanks of Congress for their fidelity and the eminent fervice they had rendered their country." André when delivered to Jameson continued to call himself by the name of Anderson, and atked leave to fend a letter to Arnold, to acquaint him with Anderson's detention. This was inconsiderately granted. Arnold on the receipt of this letter abandoned every thing, and went on board the Vulrure floop of war. Lieut Col. Jameson forwarded to Gen. Washing ton all the papers found on André, together with a letter giving an account of the whole affair, but the express by taking a different route from the General, who was returning from a conference at Hartford with Count de Rochambeau, miffed him. This caused such a delay a gave Arnold time to effect his escape. The same packet which detailed the particulars of Andre's capture, brough a letter from him, in which he avowed his name and the racter, and endeavoured to shew that he did not come under the description of a fpy. The letter was expressed in terms of dignity without infolence, and of apolog without meanness. He stated therein, that he helds correspondence with a person under the orders of his That his intention went no farther than meet ing that person on neutral ground, for the purpose of intelligence, and that, against his stipulation, his intertion, and without his knowledge beforehand, he wa brought within the American posts, and had to concer his escape from them. Being taken on his return hew betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguile

lis principal request was that " whatever his fate might 1780. e, a decency of treatment might be observed, which ould mark, that though unfortunate he was branded with othing that was dishonourable, and that he was invo-

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General Washington referred the whole case of Maor Andre to the examination and decision of a board, onfifting of fourteen general officers. On his examination, e voluntarily confessed every thing that related to imfelf, and particularly that he did not come ashore under he protection of a flag. The board did not examine a fingle imes, but founded their report on his own confession. n this they stated the following facts: "That Major Anre came on shore on the night of the 21st of Septemer in a private and fecret manner, and that he changed is dress within the American lines, and under a feigned ame and difguifed habit paffed their works, and was taen in a difguifed habit when on his way to New-York, nd when taken, feveral papers were found in his poffefon, which contained intelligence for the enemy." From hese facts they farther reported it as their opinion "That Major André ought to be confidered as a spy, and that greeably to the laws and usages of nations he ought to uffer death."

Sir Henry Clinton, Lieutenant General Robertson, nd the late American General Arnold, wrote preffing etters to General Washington, to prevent the decision of he board of general officers from being carried into efect. General Arnold in particular urged, that every hing done by Major André was done by his particular equest, and at a time when he was the acknowledged ommanding officer in the department. He contended that he had a right to transact all these matters for thich though wrong, Major Andre ought not to fufer." An interview also took place between General Roenson on the part of the British, and General Greene, n the part of the Americans. Every thing was urged y the former, that ingenuity or humanity could fugest for averting the proposed execution, Greene made a roposition for delivering up Andre for Arnold; but find-

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ing this could not be acceded to by the British, without offending against every principle of policy. Robertion urged " that Andre went on shore under the fanction of a flag, and that being then in Arnold's power, he wa not accountable for his fubsequent actions, which were faid to be compolfory." To this it was replied that he was employed in the execution of measures very foreign from the objects of flags of truce, and fuch a they were never meant to authorife or countenance, and that Major André in the course of his examination had eandably confessed, that it was impossible for him to suppose that he came on hore under the fanction of a flag! As Greene and Robertson differed so widely both in the flatement of facts, and the inferences they drew from them, the latter proposed to the former, that the opinions of difinterested gentlemen might be taken on the subject, and proposed Kniphausen and Rochambeau. Rubertson alle urged that Andre possessed a great share of Sir Henry Clinton's esteem; and that he would be infinitely obliged if he should be spared. He offered that in case Ande was permitted to return with him to New York, and person whatever, that might be named, should be set a liberty. All these arguments and entreaties having failed. Robertson presented a long letter from Arnold, in which he endeavoured to exculpate André, by acknowledging himself the author of every part of his conduct "and particularly infifted on his coming from the Vuture, under a flag which he had fent for that purpole, He declared that if Andre, suffered he should think himself bound in honour to retaliate. He also of ferved " that forty of the principal inhabitants t South-Carolina had justly forfeited their lives, which had hitherto been spared only through the clement of Sir Henry Clinton, but who could no longer exten his mercy if Major André suffered: an event which would probably open a scene of bloodshed, at which humani must revolt." He intreated Washington by his own he nour, and for that of humanity not to fuffer an unju sentence to touch the life of André, but if that warming fhould be difregarded and André fuffer, he called Ha

remand earth to witness, that he along would be justly answerable for the torrents of blood that might be spilt in confequence," die beile alle vd De

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Every exertion was made by the royal commanders to fave André, but without effect. It was the general opinion of the American army that his life was forfeited, and that national dignity and found policy required that the forfeiture should be exacted.

André though superior to the terrors of death, wished to die like a soldier. To obtain this favour, he wrote a letter to Gen, Washington, fraught with sentiments of military dignity. From an adherence to the usages of war, it was not thought proper to grant this request; but his delicacy was faved from the pain of receiving a negative sofwer. The guard which attended him in his confinement, marched with him to the place of execution. The way, over which he passed, was crouded on each side by anxious spectators. Their sensibility was strongly impressed by beholding a well dreffed youth, in the bloom of life, of a peculiarly engaging person, mien and aspect, devoted to immediate execution. Major Andre walked with firmness, composure and dignity, between two officers of his guard, his arm being locked in theirs. Upon feeing the preparations at the fatal fpot, he asked with some degree of concern " Must I die in this manner?"-r-He was told it was unavoidable---He replied, "I am reconciled to my fare, but not to the mode;" but foon subloiped, "It will be but a momentary pang," He afcendcould think ed the cart with a pleasing countenance, and with a demelted the hearts of all the spectators. He was asked wes, which when the fatal moment was at hand, if he had any thing to fay; he answered nothing but to request "That you ger exten will witness to the world that I die like a brave man."

The succeeding moments closed the affecting scene.

This execution was a fact of the affecting scene.

This execution was the subject of fevere censures. Barbarity, cruelty and murder, were pleatifully charged on the Americans, but the impartial of all nations allowed, that it was warranted by the mages of war. It cannot called Her be condemned, without condemning the maxims of felf-VOL. II. preservation

prefervation, which have uniformly guided the practice of hostile nations. The finer feelings of humanity would have been gratified, by dispensing with the rigid maxim of war in favour of fo diffinguished an officer, but their feelings must be controlled by a regard for the public fafe. ty. Such was the diffressed flate of the American army, and fo abundant were their causes of complaint that there was much to fear from the contagious nature of treachery! Could'it have been reduced to a certainty that there were no more Arnolds in America, perhaps Andre's life might have been spared; but the necession of discouraging farther plots, fixed his fate, and stamped it with the feal of political necessity. If conjectures in the boundlefs field of possible contingencies were to be indulged, it might be faid that it was more conforant to extended humanity to take one life, than by ill timed lo nity to lay a foundation, which probably would occasion not only the lofs of many, but endanger the independhab libwin anib ence of a great country.

Though a regard to the public fafery imposed a necesfity for inflicting the rigors of martial law, yet the ran worth of this unfortunate officer made his unhappy cale the subject of universal regret. Not only among the partifans of royal government, but among the firme American republicans, the friendly tear of sympath freely flowed, for the early fall of this amiable young man. Some condemned, others juftified, but all regreted the fatal fentence which put a period to his valuable there er with a plenting confinentines, and with a sin

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This grand project terminated with no other alterati on in respect of the British, than that of their exchang ing one of their best officers for the worst man in the American army. Arnold was immediately made a B. gadier General, in the service of the King of Great Br tain. The failure of the scheme respecting West-Poin made it necessary for him to dispel the cloud, which overshadowed his character, by the performance of for figual fervice for his new mafters. The condition of American army, afforded him a prospect of doing som thing of confequence. He flattered himself that by allurement

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er alterati r exchange man in the nade a Ba Great Bri West-Poin ud, which ce of for ition of the foing fom that by il allurement

ellurements of pay and promotion, he should be able to raile a numerous force, from among the distressed American foldiery. He therefore took methods for accomplishing this purpose, by obviating their scruples, and working on their passions. His first public measure was iffuing an address, directed to the inhabitants of America, dated from New-York, five days after André's execution. Oct. 7. In this he endeavoured to justify himself for deserting their cause. He said "that when he first engaged in it, he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and that duty and honor called him to her defence. A redress of grievances was his only aim and object. He however acquiesced in the declaration of independence, although he thought it precipitate. But the reasons that then were offered to justify that measure, no longer could exist, when Great Britain with the open arms of a parent, offered to embrace them as children and to grant the wished for redress. From the refusal of these proposals, and the ratification of the French alliance, all his ideas of the justice and policy of the war were totally changed, and from that time, he had become a professed loyalift. He acknowledged that "in these principles he had only retained his arms and command, for an opportunity to surrender them to Great Britain." This address was foon followed by another, inscribed to the officers and foldiers of the continental army. This was intended to induce them to follow his example, and engage in the royal fervice. He informed them, that he was authorifed to raife a corps of cavalry and infantry, who were to be on the same footing with the other troops in the British service. To allure the private men, three guineas were offered to each, besides payment for their horses, arms and accoutrements. Rank in the British army was also held out to the American officers, who would recruit and bring in a certain number of men, proportioned to the different grades in military fervice. These offers were proposed to unpaid soldiers, who were suffering from the want of both food and cloathing, and to officers who were in a great degree obliged to support hemselves from their own resources, while they were fpending

1761.

1781.

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spending the prime of their days, and issquing their live in the unproductive service of Congress. Though the were urged at a time when the paper currency was at it lowest ebb of depreciation, and the wants and distress of the American army were at their highest pitch, yet they did not produce the intended effect on a single sentines or officer. Whether the circumstances of Arnold; case, added new shades to the crime of desertion, or whether their providential escape from the deep laid scheme against West-point, gave a higher tone to the sirmness of the American soldiery, cannot be unfolded. But either from these or some other causes, desertion wholly ceased at this remarkable period of the war.

It is matter of reproach to the United States, that they brought into public view a man of Arnold's character, but it is to the honor of human nature, that a great revolution and an eight years war produced but one. In civil contests, for officers to change sides has not been unusual, but in the various events of the American war, and among the many regular officers it called to the field, nothing occurred that bore any resemblance to the conduct of Arnold. His singular case enforces the policy of conferring high trusts exclusively on men of clean hand, and of withholding all public considence from those who are subjected to the dominion of pleasure.

Nov. 28.

A gallant enterprize of Major Talmadge about the time shall close this chapter. He crossed the found a Long-Island with 80 men, made a circuitous march a 20 miles to Fort-George, and reduced it without an other loss than that of one private man wounded. It killed and wounded eight of the enemy, captured also Colonel, a Captain and 55 privates.

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escaped and Cape Sr. Vincent with a appaille landed oreign Affairs, connected with the American Revolution What will arrange 1780, 1784d or which who all

THAT spark which was first kindled at Boston, gradually expanded itefelf till fundry of the nations of Europe were involved in its wide spreading slame. France, Spain and Holland were in the years 1778, 1770 and 1780 fuccessively drawn in for a share of the general alamity.

These events had so direct an influence on the Amerian war, that a short recapitulation of them becomes

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Soon after his most Catholic Majesty declared war against Great-Britain, expeditions were carried on by Don Galvez the Spanish governor of Louisiana, against he British settlements in West-Florida. These were eafily reduced. The conquest of the whole province May 5, was completed in a few months by the reduction of 1781. Penfacola. The Spaniards were not fo fuccessful in their attempts against Gibraltar and Jamaica. They had blockaded the former of these places on the landside ever fince July 1779, and foon after invested it as closely by sea, as the nature of the gut, and variety of wind and weather, would permit. Towards the close of the year the garrison was reduced to great straits. Vegetables were with difficulty to be got at any price, but bread, the great effential both of life and health, was most deficient. Governor Elliott who commanded in the garrison, made an experiment to ascertain what quantity of rice would fuffice a fingle person, and lived for eight successive days, on thirty two ounces of that nutritious Feb. 8, grain.

The critical fituation of Gibraltar called for relief. A strong squadron was prepared for that purpose, and the command of it given to Sir George Rodney. He when on his way thither fell in with 15 fail of merchant men, under a slight convoy bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, and captured the whole. Several of the veffels were laden with provisions which being fent into Gibral-

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tar proved a feasonable supply. In eight days after, he engaged near Cape St. Vincent with a Spanish squadron July 18. of eleven fail of the line, commanded by Don Juand Langara. Early in the action the Spanish ship San Do mingo mounting 70 guns, and carrying 600 men bler up, and all on board perished. The action continued with great vigor on both fides for ten hours. The Spanish At miral's thip the Phænix of 80 guns, with three of 70 were carried into a British port. The San Julian of 70 guns was taken. A Lieutenant with 70 British seame was put on board, but as the ran on thore, the victor became prisoners. Another thip of the same force wa also taken, but afterwards totally lost. Four escaped but two of them were greatly damaged. The Spanil Admiral did not strike till his ship was reduced to a men wreck. Captain Macbride of the Bienfaiscent, to whom he truck, difdaining to convey infection even to an ene my, informed him that a malignant small pox prevailed on board the Bienfaiscent; and offered to permit the Spanish prisoners to stay on board the Phænix, rather tha by a removal to expose them to the small pox, trustings the Admira'ls honor, that no advantage would be take to of the circumstance. The proposal was chearfully enbraced, and the conditions honorably observed. The consequence of this important victory was the immed ate and complete relief of Gibraltar. This being done to Rodney proceeded to the West-Indies. The Spaniard nevertheless persevered with steadiness, in their origina defign of reducing Gibraltar. They feemed to be entire ly absorbed in that object. The garrison, after some time began again to fuffer the inconveniences which flow from deficient and unwholfome food: But in April 1781

Apr. 12. complete relief was obtained through the intervention a British fleet, Commanded by Admiral Darby. 1781.

> The court of Spain mortified at this repeated diff pointment, determined to make greater exertions. The works was carried on with more vigor than ever. Having on an experiment of 20 months found the inefficacy a blockade, they resolved to try the effects of a bomban ment. Their batteries were mounted with guns of the heavie

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eaviest metal, and with mortars of the largest dimenons. These disgorged torrents of fire on a narrow spot. feemed as if not only the works, but the rock itfelf uft have been overwhelmed. All diffinction of parts as lost in flame and smoke. This dreadful cannonade intinued day and night, almost incessantly for three ceks, in every 24 hours of which 100,000lbs. of gunowder were confumed, and between 4 and 5000 shot ad shells went through the town. It then flackened, but as not intermitted for one whole day for upwards of a relve month. The fatigues of the garrison were exeme, but the loss of men was less than might have been spected. For the first ten weeks of this unexampled ombardment, the whole number of killed and wounded as only about 300. The damage done to the works as trifling. The houses in town about 500 in number ere mostly destroyed. Such of the inhabitants as were ot buried in the ruins of their houses, or torn to pieces the spanish of the sp the shells, fled to the remote parts of the rocks, but

fome time At the first onset Gen. Elliot retorted on the besiegers flow from shower of fire, but foreseeing the difficulty of procurpril 1781 g supplies he soon retrenched, and received with comries. By the latter end of November, the besiegers cated disp dbrought their works to that state of perfection which ions. The ey intended. The care and ingenuity employed upon ver. Havin were extraordinary. The best engineers of France inefficacy of d Spain had united their abilities, and both kingdoms a bomban are filled with fanguine expectations of speedy success.

cerning

cerning the fate of the garrison, and when from the pro digious efforts made for its reduction, many believed the it could not hold out much longer, a fally was projected and executed, which in about two hours destroyed that works which had required fo much time, skill and law to accomplife most bomb income vab logation of

A hady of 2000 cholen men, under the commande Nov. 27. Brig. Gen. Rofs, marched out about 2 o'clock in the morning, and at the same instant made a general attach on the whole exterior front of the lines of the beliege The Spaniards gage way on every fide, and abandon their works. The pioneers and artillery men foread the fire with fuch rapidity, that in a little time every this combustible was in sames. The morears and canno were spiked, and their beds, platforms and carriages de trayed. The magazines blew up, one after another. The loss of the detachment, which accomplished all this de truction, was inconfiderable! To anim sale air be and

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This unexpected event disconcerted the besiegers, b they foon recovered from their alarm, and with a per verauce almost peculiar to their nation, determined toget with the fiege. Their subsequent exertions, and re-item defeats, hall be related in the order of time in whi

they took place and to and to the account noiself

While the Spaniards were urging the fiege of Gibrala a scheme which had been previously concerted with t French was in a train of execution. This confifted two parts: The object of the first, concerted betweent French and Spaniards, was no less than the conquest Jamaica. The object of the fecond, in which the Fren and the Americans were parties, was the reduction New-York. In conformity to this plan, the monan of France and Spain early in the year 1780, affemble force in the West-Indies, superior to that of the Brit Their combined fleets amounted to thirty fix fail of line, and their land forces were in a correspondent portion. By acting in concert, they hoped to make m conquests in the West Indies.

Fortunately for the British interest, this great hold force carried within itself the cause of its own overthe m the pro lieved the projecte oyed thou and lab - Loughing mmand ock in th eral attac e beliegen

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the Spanish troops from being too much crouded on board heir transports, were seized with a mortal and contagius diftemper. This spread through the French fleet nd land forces, as well as their own. With the hopes f arresting its progress, the Spaniards were landed in he French itlands. By these disastrous events, the pirit of enterprise was damped. The combined fleets, aving neither effected nor attempted any thing of conquence, defifted from the profecution of the objects of he campaign. The failure of the first part of the plan, ccasioned the failure of the second. Count de Guichen te commander of the French fleet, who was to have blowed M. de Ternay, and to have co-operated with en Washington, instead of coming to the American ontinent, failed with a large convoy collected from the other. The reach islands, directly to France.

The abortive plans of the French and Spaniards, opeted directly against the interest of the United States, but is was in a short time counterbalanced, by the increased nbarraffments occasioned to Great Britain, by the armed ned togot cutrality of the northern powers, and by a rupture with

> The naval superiority of Great Britain, had long been e subject of regret and of envy. As it was the interest, it feemed to be the wish of European sovereigns, to all themselves of the present favourable moment, to efa an humiliation of her maritime grandeur. That the g of all nations must strike to British ships of war, uld not be otherwise than mortifying to independent vereigns. This haughty demand was not their only use of complaint. The activity and number of British ivateers had rendered them objects of terror, not only the commercial shipping of their enemies, but to the my vessels belonging to other powers, that were embyed in trading with them. Various litigations had ten place between the commanders of British armed fels, and those who were in the service of neutral wers, respecting the extent of that commerce, which s confistent with a strict and fair neutrality. The Bri-VOL. II. Dd were

were about to be carried to their enemies. Having ben in the habit of commanding on the fea, they confiden power and right to be fynonimous terms. As other a tions from a dread of provoking their vengeance, h fubmitted to their claim of dominion on the ocean, the fancied themselves invested with authority to control the commerce of independent nations, when it interfer with their views. This haughtiness worked its owne verthrow. The Empress of Russia took the lead in the blishing a system of maritime laws, which subverted the claims of Great Britain. Her trading vessels had lo been harraffed by British searches and seizures, on pr tence of their carrying on a commerce inconfiftent will neutrality. The present crisis favoured the re-establish ment of the laws of nature, in place of the usurpation of Great Britain. Sansay of Missilla son the day

Feb. 26.

- A declaration was published by the empress of Russ addressed to the courts of London, Verfailles and Madri In this it was observed "that her Imperial Majesty hi given fuch convincing proofs of the first regard she h for the rights of neutrality, and the liberty of commen in general, that it might have been hoped her imparti conduct, would have entitled her fubjects to the enjoy ment of the advantages belonging to neutral nation Experience had however proved the contrary; her fol jects had been molefted in their navigation, by the shi and privateers of the belligerent powers." Her Majet therefore declared "that the found it necessary to remo these vexations which had been offered to the commen of Russia, but before the came to any serious measure the thought it just and equitable, to expose to the wor and particularly to the belligerent powers, the principal the had adopted for her conduct, which were as follows

"That neutral ships should enjoy a free navagation even from port to port, and on the coasts of the best gerent powers. That all effects belonging to the best gerent powers, should be looked on as free on boat such neutral ships, with an exception of places actual blocked up or besieged, and with a proviso that they not carry to the enemy contraband articles." These we

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mited by an explanation, fo as to "comprehend only arlike stores and ammunition," her imperial Majesty deared that " fhe was firmly refolved to maintain thefe rinciples, and that with the view of protecting the comerce and navigation of her subjects, the had given orers to fit out a considerable part of her naval force." his declaration was communicated to the States General, nd the empress of Russia invited them to make a common use with her, so far as such an union might serve to rotect commerce and navigation. Similar communitions and invitations were also made to the courts of openhagen, Stockholm and Lifbon. A civil answer as received from the court of Great-Britain, and a very ordial one from the court of France. On this occaon, it was faid by his most Christian Majesty "that what er Imperial Majesty claimed from the belligerent pows, was nothing more than the rules prescribed to the rench navy." The Kings of Sweden and Denmark, alformally acceded to the principles and measures proofed by the empress of Russia. The States General did le same. The Queen of Portugal was the only sovereign ho refused to concur. The powers engaged in this

ho refused to concur. The powers engaged in this the enjoy of the belligerent nations, who should violate the principles which had been laid down, in the declaration of the mpress of Russia.

This combination assumed the name of the armed neuality. By it a respectable guarantee was procured to a sentiful supply of articles, essentially conducive to a vince to the work of the work of the belligerent nations, who should violate the principles of Russia.

This combination assumed the name of the armed neuality. By it a respectable guarantee was procured to a consider to the work of the bellight of the states of the bellight of the states of the states of the bellight of the states of the stat

These wo ng been considered, rather as hostile than friendly.

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Few Europeans had a greater prospect of advantage from American independence than the Hollanders. The conquest of the United States, would have regained to Great Britain a monopoly of their trade; but the effablishment of their independence promised to other nation ons, an equal chance of participating therein. As com. merce is the foul of the United Netherlands, to have neglected the present opportunity of extending it, would have been a deviation from their established maxims of policy. Former treaties framed in distant periods, when other views were predominant, opposed but a feeble barrier to the claims of present interest. The past generation found it to their advantage, to feek the friendship and protection of Great Britain. But they who were now on the stage of life, had fimilar inducement to feek for new channels of trade. Though this could not be done without thwarting the views of the court of London, their recollection of former favours was not fuff. cient to curb their immediate favorite passion. From the year 1777, Sir Joseph Yorke, the British minister at the Hague, had made fundry representations to their High Mightinesses of the clandestine commerce, carried on between their subjects and the Americans. He particularly stated that Mr. Van Graaf, the Governor of St. Eustatius, had permitted an illicit commerce with the Americans; and had at one time returned the falute of a veffel carrying their flag. Sir Joseph, therefore demanded a formal disavowal of this salute, and the dismission and immediate recall of Governor Van Graaf. This infolent demand was answered with a pufillanimous temporiting reply. On the 12th of September 1778, a memorial was presented to the States General, from the merchants and others of Amsterdam, in which they complained that their lawful commerce was obstructed by the ships of his Britannic Majesty. On the 22d of July, 1779, Sir Jon feph Yorke demanded of the States General, the fuccount which were stipulated in the treaty of 1678: But this was not complied with. Friendly declarations and un rens' possible friendly actions followed each other in alternate succession the occurrence of the second on. At length a declaration was published by the King The cour

of Great subjects of confidered ers, not p of this p continued infult and were avoi the gains all obstacl scheme of occasioned of Henry rican fina gress, to f therlands and the I taken by t ple. He part of th received the minis was foun amity and the Unite drawn up William 1 oner to t Neufville, destined t proposed though in fionary V this was n Congress per that r

tions. I

of Great Britain, by which it was announced " that the subjects of the United Provinces, were henceforth to be confidered upon the same footing with other martial powers, not privileged by treaty" Throughout the whole of this period, the Dutch by means of neutral ports, continued to supply the Americans and the English to infult and intercept their navigation, but open hostilities were avoided by both. The former aimed principally at the gains of a lucrative commerce, the latter to remove all obstacles which stood in the way of their favourite scheme of conquering the Americans. The event which occasioned a formal declaration of war, was the capture of Henry Laurens. In the deranged state of the American finances, that gentleman had been deputed by Congress, to folicit a loan for their service in the United Netherlands; and also to negociate a treaty between them and the United States. On his way thither, he was taken by the Vestal frigate commanded by Captain Kep- Sep. 3. ple. He had thrown his papers overboard; but great part of them were nevertheless recovered without having received much damage. His papers being delivered to Oct. 6. the ministry, were carefully examined. Among them was found one purporting to be a plan of a treaty of amity and commerce, between the States of Holland and the United States of America. This had been originally drawn up in consequence of some conversation between William Lee, whom Congress had appointed commissioner to the courts of Vienna and Berlin; and John de Neufville, merchant of Amsterdam, as a plan of a treaty destined to be concluded hereafter: But it had never been proposed either by Congress or the States of Holland, though it had received the approbation of the Penhat sionary Van Berkel, and of the city of Amsterdam. As his this was not an official paper, and had never been read in Congress the original was given to Mr. Laurens as a pauis per that might be useful to him in his projected negociahis tions. This unauthentic paper, which was in Mr. Lauunrens' possession by accident, and which was so nearly funk ffithe ocean, proved the occasion of a national war. ing The court of Great Britain, was highly offended at it. The

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Sir Joseph Yorke presented a memorial to the States

General, in which he afferted "That the papers of Mr.

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Nov. 5. The paper itfelf and fome others, relating to the fame Nov. 10. Subject were delivered to the Prince of Orange, who laid them before the States of Holland and West-Friesland.

> Laurens, who stiled himself President of the pretended Congress, had furnished the discovery of a plot unexampled in all the annals of the republic. That it appeared by these papers, that the gentlemen of Amsterdam had been engaged in a clandestine correspondence with the American rebels, from the month of August 1778, and that inftructions and full powers had been given by them for the conclusion of a treaty of indisputable amity with those rebels, who were the subjects of a sovereign, to whom the republic was united by the closest engagements." He therefore, in the name of his master, demandey mixtur ed " A formal disavowal of this irregular conduct, and a prompt fatisfaction proportioned to the offence, and an exemplary punishment of the Pensionary Van Berkel, and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace and violaters of the laws of nations. The States General disavowed the intended treaty of the city of Amsterdam, and engaged to profecute the Penfionary according to the Mr. de Gi laws of the country; but this was not deemed fatisfactoy incapab hich inve ry. Sir Joseph Yorke was ordered to withdraw from the Hague, and foon after a manifesto against the Dutch was published in London. This was follow- he known ed by an order of council "That general reprifals he The we granted against the ships, goods and subjects, of the States igious. General." Whatever may be thought of the policy of ine. The General." Whatever may be thought of the policy of this measure, its boldness must be admired. Great Bridain, already at war with the United States of America, the monarchies of France and Spain, deliberately resolves on a war with Holland, and at a time when she might have avoided open hostilities. Her spirit was still farther evinced by the consideration that she was deserted y new arreby her friends, and without a single ally. Great must be have been her resources to support so extensive a war against so many hostile sovereigns, but this very ability, by proving that her overgrown power was dangerous to the

Dec. 20.

he peace of Europe, furnished an apology for their com-

A war with Holland being resolved upon, the storm of British vengeance sirst burst on the Dutch Island of St. Eustatius. This though intrinsically of little value, and long been the seat of an extensive commerce. It was the grand freeport of the West-Indies, and as such was a general market and magazine to all nations. In concequence of its neutrality and situation, together with its inbounded freedom of trade, it reaped the richest harvests of commerce, during the seasons of warfare among its neighbours. It was in a particular manner, a convenient channel of supply to the Americans.

The Island is a natural fortification, and very capable of being made strong; but as its inhabitants were a motey mixture of transient persons, wholly intent on the ains of commerce, they were more solicitous to acquire property, than attentive to improve those means of security which the Island afforded.

Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan, with a large 1781.

Tal leet and army, furrounded this Island, and demanded a Feb. 3.

In urrender thereof and of its dependencies within an hour.

In de Graaf returned for answer "That being utter
to incapable of making any defence against the force

which invested the Island, he must of necessity surrender

to the known and usual elemency of British commanders."

The wealth accumulated in this barren spot was pro
ties ligious. The whole Island seemed to be one vast maga-

The wealth accumulated in this barren spot was proties ligious. The whole Island seemed to be one vast magaof ine. The store-houses were filled, and the beach coverdried with valuable commodities. These on a moderate callica, whation were estimated to be worth above three millons
terling. All this property, together with what was found
and the Island, was indiscriminately seized and declared to
e confiscated. This valuable booty was farther increased
the y new arrivals. The conquerors for some time kept up
butch colors, which decoyed a number of French,
and the store of the s

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finall armed vessels, shared the same fate. The neighbouring Islands of St. Martin and Saba were in like manner reduced. Just before the arrival of the British, plarge ships, laden with West-India commodities, had said ed from Eustatius for Holland, under the convoy of ship of sixty guns. Admiral Rodney despatched the March and Panther, with the Sybil frigate in pursuit of this sleet. The whole of it was overtaken and capture

The Dutch West-India company, many of the citizen of Amsterdam, and several Americans were great fu ferers by the capture of this Island, and the confiscation of all property found therein, which immediately follow ed, but the British merchants were much more Thefe confiding in the acknowledged neutrality of the island, and in acts of Parliament, had accumulated there great quantities of West-India produce, as well as of En ropean goods. They stated their hard case to Admin Rodney and Gen. Vaughan, and contended that the connexion with the captured illand was under the fand tion of acts of Parliament, and that their commerce ha been conducted according to the rules and maxims trading nations. To applications of this kind it w answered, "That the island was Dutch, every thing in was Dutch, was under the protection of the Dutch fla and as Dutch it should be treated."

The feverity with which the victors proceeded, dree on them pointed censures not only from the immediate fufferers, but from all Europe. It must be suppose that they were filled with resentment for the supplie which the Americans received through this channel but there is also reason to suspect, that the love of games are cloaked under the specious veil of national policy.

The horrors of an universal havoc of property we realised. The merchants and traders were ordered give up their books of correspondence, their letters at also inventories of all their effects, inclusive of an exaccount of all money and plate in their possession. If Jews were designated as objects of particular resentments. They were ordered to give up the keys of their stores, leave their wealth and merchandize behind them, and

vail then ounterach earched : his state ransporte The affem or them ews were hough th n accoun vere banis he fovere ered. T ordered o bbliged to persons in fantly red In the n of all natio St. Eustat never was quantities ticles far modities : their new of Great I had not b the trade

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coart the island without knowing the place of their deination. From a natural with to be furnished with e means of supplying their wants, in the place of their store residence, they secreted in their wearing apparel. old, filver and other articles of great value and fmall alk. The policy of these unfortunate Hebrews did not vail them. The avarice of the conquerors, effectually ounteracted their ingenuity. They were stripped. earched and despoiled of their money and jewels. In his state of wretchedness, many of the inhabitants were ransported as outlaws and landed on St. Christopher's. The affembly of that island with great humanity, provided or them fuch articles as their fituation required. The ews were foon followed by the Americans, some of these hough they had been banished from the United States. on account of their having taken part with Great Britain. were banished a second time by the conquering troops of he fovereign, in whose service they had previously sufered. The French merchants and traders were next ordered off the island, and lastly the native Dutch were obliged to submit to the same sentence. Many opulent persons in consequence of these proceedings, were infantly reduced to extreme indigence.

In the mean time public sales were advertised, and persons of all nations invited to become purchasers. The island of St. Eustatius became a scene of constant auctions. There never was a better market for buyers. The immense quantities exposed for sale, reduced the price of many articles far below their original cost. Many of the commodities fold on this occasion, became in the hands of their new purchasers, as effectual supplies to the enemies of Great Britain, as they could have been in case the island had not been captured. The spirit of gain, which led the traders of St. Eustatius to facrifice the interests of Great Britain, influenced the conquerors to do the fame. The friends of humanity, who wish that war was exterminated from the world, or entered into only for the attainment of national justice, must be gratified when they are told, that this unexampled rapacity was one link in the great chain of causes which, as hereafter shall be ex-Vol. II.

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plained, brought on the great event in the Chefapeak which gave peace to contending nations. While Admiral Rodney and his officers were bewildered, in the fales of confifcated property at St. Eustatius, and especially while his fleet was weakened, by a large detachment fent off to convoy their booty to Great Britain, the French were filently executing a well digested scheme, which affured them a naval superiority on the American coast, to the total ruin of the British interest in the United States and admin and to vuent Alabada associate ed as outlaws and landed on St. Christopheils.

CHAP. XXII.

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obact the standard standard force of thefa The revolt of the Pennfylvania line; of part of the Jersey troops; distresses of the American army, Arnold's invasion of Virginia.

THOUGH General Arnold's address to his countrymen produced no effect, in detaching the Toldiery of America from the unproductive fervice of Congress, their steadiness could not be accounted for, from any melioration of their circumstances. They still remained without pay, and without fuch cloathing as the feafon mander. required. They could not be induced to enter the Brito preventifh fervice, but their complicated diffresses at length ence. The broke out into deliberate mutiny. This event which had their immediate long expected, made its first threatening appearance readily such that the Pennsylvania line. The common foldiers enlisted been used. in that State, were for the most part natives of Ireland, purposes but though not bound to America by the accidental tie had no of birth, they were inferior to none in discipline, courage, to them, or attachment to the cause of independence. They had profession been but a few months before, the most active instruments Congruin quelling a mutiny of the Connecticut troops, and had on all occasions done their duty to admiration. An ambiguity in the terms of their inlistment, furnished a pretext volters we for their conduct. A great part of them were enlisted a redress for three years or during the war, the three years were Every the expired, and the men infifted that the choice of staying or any time going remained with them, while the officers contended the British that the choice was in the State. The

The m ficers and 1781, a State as to regiments, der arms dress of to quell th was killed piftols, as onets to but if you ing to the come out, as much a ed, we ar Deaf to of 1300 r ceeded in to Prince own body formerly

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The mutiny was excited by the non-commissioned officers and privates, in the night of the 1st of January 1781, and foon became so universal in the line of that State as to defy all opposition. The whole, except three regiments, upon a fignal for the purpose, turned out under arms without their officers, and declared for a redress of grievances. The officers in vain endeavoured to quell them. Several were wounded, and a captain was killed in attempting it. Gen. Wayne prefented his piffols, as if about to fire on them; they held their bayonets to his breast and said "We love and respect you, but if you fire you are a dead man." "We are not going to the enemy, on the contrary, if they were now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever; but we will be no longer amused, we are determined on obtaining what is our just due." Deaf to arguments and entreaties, they to the number of 1300 moved off in a body from Morristown, and proceeded in good order with their arms and fix field pieces to Princeton. They elected temporary officers from their own body, and appointed a Serjeant Major, who had formerly deferted from the British army, to be their commander. Gen. Wayne forwarded provisions after them, to prevent their plundering the country for their subfift. ence. They invaded no man's property, farther than had their immediate necessities made unavoidable. This was ince readily submitted to by the inhabitants, who had long fled been used to exactions of the same kind, levied for fimilar purposes by their lawful rulers. They professed that they had no object in view, but to obtain what was justly due to them, nor were their actions inconfiftent with that had profession.

ents Congress sent a committe of their body, consisting of had General Sullivan, Mr. Mathews, Mr. Atlee and Dr. Witherspoon, to procure an accommodation. The revolters were resolute in refusing any terms, of which a redress of their grievances was not the foundation. Every thing asked of their country, they might at any time after the 6th of January, have obtained from he British, by passing over into New-York. refused

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refused. Their sufferings had exhausted their patience but not their patriotism. Sir Henry Clinton, by confident al messengers, offered to take them under the protection of the British government --- to pardon all their past of fences -- to have the pay due them from Congress faith fully made up, without any expediation of military fer vice in return, although it would be received if volume rily offered. It was recommended to them to move be hind the South river, and it was promifed, that a detach. ment of British troops should be in readiness for their protection as foon as defired. In the mean time, the troops passed over from New-York to Staten-Island, and the necessary arrangements were made for moving them into New-Jersey, whensoever they might be wanted. The royal commander was not less disappointed than surprised to sind that the saithful, though revolting soldiers, dissained his offers. The messengers of Sir Henry Clincolous ton were seized and delivered to Gen. Wayne. President Reed and General Potter were appointed, by the council of Pennsylvania, to accommodate matters with the revolters. They met them at Princeton, and agreed to dissain admitted the oath of each soldier to be evidence in this own case. A board of officers tried and condemned the British spies, and they were instantly executed. President Reed offered a purse of 100 guineas to the mutineers, as a reward of their sidelity, in delivering up the spies; but they resulted to accept it, saying "That what they had done was only a duty they owed their countinous try, and that they neither desired nor would receive any reward but the approbation of that country, for which they had so often fought and bled." troops paffed over from New-York to Staten-Island, and they had so often fought and bled."

By these healing measures the revolt was completely ers which quelled; but the complaints of the soldiers being found bey to a ed in justice, were first redressed. Those whose time of round. These was expired obtained their discharges, and other evolt, up had their arrears of pay in a great measure made up to have of them. A general amnesty closed the business. On this present pecasion, the commander in chief stated in a circular let imousty states to the sour eastern states, the well founded complaint d on the Jan. 17.

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f his army; and the impossibility of keeping them toether, under the pressure of such a variety of sufferngs. General Knox was requested to be the bearer of hese dispatches; and to urge the States to an immedite exertion for the relief of the soldiers. He visited Machufetts, New-Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhodefland; and with great carneftness and equal fuccess, defribed the wants of the army. Maffachusetts gave 24 h. Her dollars to each man of her line; and also furnished he sime made fimilur advances.

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er.

The spirit of mutiny proved contagious. About 160 January of the Jersey troops followed the example of the Pennthe divaria line; but they did not conduct with equal spirit,
if or with equal prudence. They committed sundry acts
is, of outrage against particular officers, while they affected
in the besides of the confidence of the Pennthe division of the Penn
the division of the Penn
the division of the ent confiderable force, was ordered to take methods for ducing them to obedience. Convinced that there the as no medium between dignity and fervility, but coerion, and that no other remedy could be applied without ted, he deepest wound to the service, he determined to pro-in the against them with decision. General Howe march-ned d from Kingwood about midnight; and by the dawning of the next day, had his men in four different positions, to revent the revolters from making their escape. Every the venue being secured, Colonel Barber of the Jersey line has sent to them, with orders immediately to parade without arms; and to march to a particular spot of round. Some hesitation appearing among them, Co-ich onel Sproat was directed to advance, and only sive minutes were given to the mutineers to comply with the oracle of the service of the mutineers to comply with the oracle of the man marched without arms to the appointed of the total arms marched without arms to the appointed of the total arms marched without arms to the appointed of the total arms marched without arms to the appointed of the total arms marched without arms to the appointed of the total arms marched without arms to the appointed of the total arms marched without arms to the appointed the total arms marched without arms to the appointed to the total arms to the tot he hey to a man marched without arms to the appointed round. The Jersey officers gave a list of the leaders of the en evolt, upon which General Howe desired them to select the bree of the greatest offenders. A field court martial his as presently held upon these three, and they were unatimously sentenced to death. Two of them were executmed on the spot, and the executioners were selected from

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among the most active in the mutiny. The men were dividented to a ed into platoons, and made public concessions to their officers, and promised by future good conduct, to atone for past offences.

y military These mutinies alarmed the States, but did not pro cafon to duce permanent relief to the army. Their wants with requent cal respect to provisions were only partially supplied, and ort Schuy by expedients from one short time to another. The most ver, were usual was ordering an officer to seize on provisions when arving gar ttle or no ever found. This differed from robbing only in its by ing done by authority for the public service, and in the er or speciofficer being always directed to give the proprietor is in army to certificate, of the quantity and quality of what was take the deficient he deficier from him. At first some reliance was placed on their sences, an certificates as vouchers to support a future demand on c war; the United States; but they soon became so common a to be of little value. Recourse was so frequently had a rection op coercion, both legislative and military, that the people of these events of the sound to legislative and military, that the people of these events of the sound to legislative and military, that the people of these events are sound to legislative and military, that the people of these events are sound to legislative and military, that the people of these events are sound to legislate the sound to get the sound t the United States; but they foon became fo common a gh diffoly fenta

unce of provision, which had been kept as a reserve in the garrison of West-Point; and had strained impress y military force, to so great an extent, that there was eason to apprehend the inhabitants, irritated by such requent calls, would proceed to dangerous insurrections. Ort Schuyler, West-Point, and the posts up the North ver, were on the point of being abandoned by their arving garrisons. At this period of the war, there was the or no circulating medium, either in the form of part or specie, and in the neighbourhood of the American army there was a real want of necessary provisions. The deficiency of the former occasioned many inconversences, and an unequal distribution of the burdens of the war; but the insufficiency of the latter, had well as h dissolved the army, and laid the country in every rection open to British excursions.

he deficiency of the former occasioned many inconvecitiences, and an unequal distribution of the burdens of
the war; but the infussiciency of the latter, had well
as history and laid the country in every
the rection open to British excursions.

These events were not unforeseen by the rulers of Ametion ca. From the progressive depreciation of their bills of
color cells, it had for some time past occurred, that the peter od could not be far distant, when they would cease to
cells culate. This crisis which had been ardently wished
the theory of the enemies, and dreaded by the friends of Ametion that hopes of the one, or the fears of the other.
This crisis which had been ardently without reset in the hopes of the one, or the fears of the other.
The own resources were providentially opened, and the war
scarried on with the same vigor as before. A great
special of gold and silver was about this time introduced
tes, the United States, by a beneficial trade with the
mench and Spanish West-India islands, and by means of
prive: French army in Rhode-Island. Pathetic representatithe the of the property of the ministers of his most Christian Maty the ty by General Washington, Dr. Franklin, and partithat arly by Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens, who was thre arly by Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens, who was 3 W occasion. The King of France gave the United Mal tes a fubfidy of fix millons of livres, and became their se urity for ten millions more, borrowed for their use in united Netherlands. A regular constall of about this time adopted. All matters relative to

the treasury the supplies of the army and the account, were put under the direction of Robert Morris, who atranged the whole with judgment and occonomy. The issuing of paper money by the authority of government was discontinued, and the public engagements were med payable in coin. The introduction of fo much gold and filver, together with thefe judicious domestic regulation aided by the bank, which had been erected the preceding year in Philadelphia, extricated Congress from much of their embarrassment, and put it in their power to feed cloath and move their army.

About the fame time the old continental money, beauty we common confent, ceased to have currency. Like an a hich und ged man expiring by the decays of nature, without en expiaining or a groan, it fell asleep in the hands of its last policies. By the scale of depreciation the war was carifully deficient. By the scale of depreciation the war was carifully deficient on five years, for little more than a million of pound shall be feeling, and 200 millions of paper dollars were make the sountries, such measures would probably have produce doften to popular insurrections, but in the United States they we shad no submitted to without any tumults. Public faith was to effect olated, but in the opinion of most men public goods illustry cripromoted. The evils consequent on depreciation he taken place, and the redemption of the bills of crast at their nominal value as originally promised, instead remedying the distresses of the sufferers would in materies have increased them, by subjecting their small to the camp mains of property to exorbitant taxation. The more had in a great measure got out of the hands of the original proprietors, and was in the possession. The more had in a great measure got out of the hands of the original proprietors, and was in the possession. The more who had obtained it at a rate of value not exceed without any single property to exorbitant taxation. The more had one as the property of the state of the property of the state of depreciation.

Nothing could afford a stronger proof that the resulting with what was fixed upon it by the scale of depreciation.

Nothing could afford a stronger proof that the resulting with what was fixed upon it by the scale of depreciation.

Nothing could afford a stronger proof that the resulting property in exchange for them, as equal to gold or study in the confect the war was begun; but to consent to the extinction with the confect the war was begun; but to consent to the extinction with the confect the war was begun; but to consent to the extinction with the confe About the fame time the old continental money, h common confent, ceased to have currency. Like an a hich und

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Vol. II.

e same after a currency of five years, without any aquate prevision made for their future redemption, was ore than would have been born by any people, who aceived that their rulers had separate interests or views om themselves. The demise of one king and the conation of a lawful fuccessor have often excited greater mmotions in royal governments, than took place in United States on the sudden extinction of their whole mpelled their rulers to act in the manner they had ne, and being well convinced that the good of the untry was their object, quietly submitted to measures, sich under other circumstances, would scarcely have en expiated by the lives and fortunes of their aupol ors. Saturate bedraum godin

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While the Americans were suffering the complicated lamities which introduced the year 1781, their adverices were carrying on the most extensive plan of operaices were carrying on the most e properly applied, would have been fufficient to make addressful impressions, at one and the same time, on femal ral of the States. The British seem to have calculatthe campaign of 1781, with a view to make an exnon riment of the comparative merit of this mode of con-e or ching military operations. The war raged in that year, the tonly in the vicinity of British head quarters at Newed ork, but in Georgia, South-Carolina, North-Carolirefi , and in Virginia. The latter State from its peculiar uation, and from the modes of building, planting and in ing, which had been adopted by the inhabitants, is ve ricularly exposed, and lies at the mercy of whatever my is master of the Chesapeak. These circumstances, or gether with the pre-eminent rank which Virginia held whethe confederacy, pointed out the propriety of making tion it State the object of particular attention. To favour Vol. II. lord

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lord Cornwallis' designs in the southern States, Milliam Cen. Leslie, with about 2000 men, had been detach from New York to the Chesapeak, in the latter end 1780; but subsequent events induced his lordship to a der him from Virginia to Charleston, with the view his more effectually co-operating with the army underlown immediate command. Soon after the departure General Leslie, Virginia was again invaded by anoth party from New-York. This was commanded by Go Arnold, now a Brigadier in the royal army. His for consisted of about 1600 men, and was supported by a number of armed vessels as enabled him to committee tensive ravages, on the unprotected coasts of that wells tered country. The invaders landed about 15 miles low Richmond, and in two days marched into the tor

Jan. 5 tered country. The invaders landed about 15 miles 1781. low Richmond, and in two days marched into the town where they destroyed large quantities of tobacco, forum, fail-cloth and other merchandize. Successive Eursions were made to several other places, in which royal army committed similar devastations.

In about a fortnight, they marched into Portsmo and began to fortify it. The loss they sustained from feeble opposition of the dispersed inhabitants was inco fiderable. The havor made by General Arnold, and apprehension of a design to fix a permanent post in V ginia, induced General Washington to detach the M quis de la Fayette, with 1200 of the American infi try, to that State, and also to urge the French in Rho Island to co-operate with him in attempting to capt Arnold and his party. The French commanders eag ly closed with the proposal. Since they had landed in United States, no proper opportunity of gratifying the passion for military fame, had yet presented itself. rejoiced at that which now offered, and indulged a che ful hope of rendering effential fervice to their allies, cutting off the retreat of Arnold's party. With view, their fleet with 1500 additional men on board, ed from Rhode-Island for Virginia. D'Estouches,

March 8 ed from Rhode-Island for Virginia. D'Estouches, we fince the death of de Ternay on the preceding Decembed the Commanded the French sleet, previous to the sail Feb. 9. of his whole naval force, dispatched the Eveille, as

four gun fhip, and two frigates, with orders to defoy the British ships and frigates in the Chefapeak. hele took or destroyed ten veffels, and captured the Ronalus of 44 guns. Arbuthnot with a British fleet failfrom Gardiner's-bay in pursuit of D'Estouches. ormer overtook and engaged the latter off the capes of lirginia. The British had the advantage of more guns an the French, but the latter were much more strongly anned than the former. The contest between the fleets his nearly balanced, ended without the loss of a ship n either side; but the British obrained the fruits of viebry fo far as to frustrate the whole scheme of their aderfaries. The fleet of his most Christian Majesty reirfied to Rhode-Island, without effecting the object of e expedition. Thus was Arnold faved from imminent anger of falling into the hands of his exafperated counymen. The day before the French fleet returned to ork, with Major Gen. Philips and about 2000 men. his distinguished officer, who having Been taken at Sant toga had been lately exchanged, was appointed to be mander of the royal forces in Virginia. Philips and ndi mold foon made a junction, and carried every thing fore them. They successively defeated those bodies of ilitia which came in their way. The whole country as open to their excursions. On their embarkation from ortsmouth, a detachment visited York-town, but the ain body proceeded to Williamsburgh. On the 22d April 22 aptu eage April they reached Chickapowing. A party proceedup that river 10 or 12 miles, and destroyed much prog th erty. On the 24th they landed at City-point, and foon T ter they marched for Petersburgh. About one mile che om the town they were opposed by a small force comes, anded by Baron Steuben; but this after making a gald, h At Petersburgh they destroyed 4000

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At Petersburgh they destroyed 4000 hogsheads of tocco, a ship and a number of small vessels. ree days one party marched to Chesterfield courtpuse, and burned a range of barracks, and 300 barrels of our. On the same day, another party under the com-

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mand of Gen. Arnold marched to Osborne's. About

March

four miles above that place, a small marine force drawn up to oppose him. Gen. Arnold sent a flat treat with the commander of this fleet, but he declare that he would defend it to the last extremity. Upon refusal, Arnold advanced with some artillery, and in upon him with decifive effect from the banks of the ver. Two ships and ten small vessels loaded with toba co, cordage, flour, &c. were captured. Four his five brigantines and a number of fmall veffels were bur or funk. The quantity of tobacco taken or destroy in this fleet, exceeded 2000 hogsheads, and the who was effected without the loss of a single man, on the si of the British. The royal forces then marched up t fork till they arrived at Manchester. There they d stroyed 1200 hogsheads of tobacco; returning them they made great havoc at Warmic. They destroyed to ships on the stocks, and in the river, and a large range of rope walks. A magazine of 500 barrels of flow with a number of warehouses, and of tan houses, all fill with their respective commodities, were also consume in one general conflagration. On the oth of May the returned to Petersburgh, having in the course of the pr ceding three weeks, destroyed property to an immer amount. With this expedition, Major Gen. Philips to minated a life, which in all his previous operations had be full of glory. At early periods of his military career, different occasions of a preceding war, he had gained to full approbation of Prince Ferdinand, under whom had ferved in Germany. As an officer he was unive fally admired. Though much of the devastations con mitted by the troops under his command, may be vind cated on the principles of those who hold that the right and laws of war, are of equal obligation with the right and laws of humanity; yet the friends of his fame, ha reason to regret that he did not die three weeks sooner

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1781.

Campaign of 1781. Operations in the two Carolinas and Georgia.

THE fuccesses which, with a few checks, followed the British arms fince they had reduced Savannah and Charleston, encouraged them to pursue their object by advancing from fouth to north. A vigorous invasion of North-Carolina was therefore projected, for the business of the winter which followed Gen. Gates' defeat. The Americans were sensible of the necessity of reinforcing, and supporting their fouthern army, but were destitute of the means of doing it. Their northern army would not admit of being farther weakened, nor was there time to march over the intervening distance of seven hundred miles, but if men could have been procured and time allowed for marching them to South-Carolina, money for defraying the unavoidable expences of their transportation, could not be commanded, either in the latter end of 1780, or the first months of 1781. Though Congress was unable to forward either men or money, for the relief of the Southern States, they did what was equivalent. They fent them a general, whose head was a council, and whose military talents were equal to a reinforcement, The nomination of an officer for this important trust, was left to Gen. Washington. He mentioned General Greene, adding for reason "that he was an officer in whose abilities and integrity, from a long and intimate experience, he had the most entire considence."

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The army after its defeat and dispersion on the 16th of August 1780, rendezvoused at Hillsborough. In the latter end of the year they advanced to Charlotte-Town. At this place Gen. Gates transferred the command to Gen. Greene. The manly resignation of the one, was equalled by the delicate disinterestedness of the other. Expressions of civility, and acts of friendship and attention were reciprocally exchanged. Greene upon all occasions, was the vindicator of Gates' reputation. In his letters and conversation, he uniformly maintained that his predecessor, had failed in no part of his military duty, and

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1781.

that he had deferved fuecess, though he could not com. mand it. Within a few hours after Greene took charge of the army a report was made of a gallant enterprize of Lieut. Col. Washington. Being out on a foraging excursion, he had penetrated within 13 miles of Camden, to Clermont the feat of Lieut. Col. Rigely of the British This was fortified by a block house, and encompassed by an abbatis, and was defended by upwards of one hundred of the inhabitants, who had submitted to the British government. Lieut. Col. Washington ad. vanced with his cavalry, and planted the trunk of a pine tree, so as to resemble a field piece. The lucky moment was seized and a peremptory demand of an immediate furrender was made, when the garrison was impressed with the expectation of an immediate cannonade in case of their The whole furrendered at discretion, without a shot on either side. This fortunate incident, through the fuperstition to which most men are more or less subject, was viewed by the army as a prefage of fuccels under their new commander.

When Gen. Greene took the command, he found the troops had made a practice of going home without permission, staying several days or weeks, and then returning to camp. Determined to enforce strict discipline, he gave out that he would make an example of the first deserter of the kind he caught. One fuch being foon taken, was accordingly shot, at the head of the army, drawn up to be spectators of the punishment. This had the desired effect, and put a stop to the dangerous practice.

The whole fouthern army at this time confifted of about 2000 men, more than half of which were militia. The regulars had been for a long time without pay, and were very deficient in cloathing. All fources of fupply from Charleston were in possession of the British, and no imported article could be obtained from a distance less than 200 miles. The procuring of provisions for this finall force was a matter of difficulty. The paper currency was depreciated so far, as to be wholly unequal to the purchase of even such supplies as the country afford in the red. Hard money had not a physical existence in any he Pedee

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hands accessible to the Americans. The only refource 1781. left for supplying the army was by the arbitrary mode of impress. To feize on the property of the inhabitants, and at the fame time to preferve their kind affections, was a difficult business and of delicate execution, but of the utmost moment, as it furnished the army with provifions without impairing the disposition of the inhabitants to co-operate with it in recovering the country. grand object called for the united efforts of both. Such was the fituation of the country, that it was almost equaldangerous for the American army to go forward or fand ftill. In the first case every thing was hazarded; in the last the confidence of the people would be lost, and with it all prospect of being supported by them. The impatience of the fuffering exiles and others, led hem to urge the adoption of rash measures. The mode of opposition they preferred was the least likely to effect heir ultimate withes. The nature of the country thinly shabited, abounding with swamps, and covered with goods-the inconfiderable force of the American army, he number of the difaffected, and the want of magaines, weighed with Gen. Greene to prefer a partizan var. By close application to his new profession, he had equired a scientific knowledge of the principles and maxms for conducting wars in Europe but confidered hem as often inapplicable to America. When they were adapted to his circumstances he used them, but hener deviated from them, and followed his own pracical judgement, founded on a comprehensive view of is real fituation.

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With an inconfiderable army, miserably provided, en. Greene took the field against a superior British egular force, which had marched in triumph 200 miles rom the fea coast, and was flushed with successive victoies through a whole campaign. Soon after he took the ommand, he divided his force and fent Gen. Morgan ith a respectable detachment to the western extremity f South-Carolina, and about the fame time marched ord. with the main body to Hick's-creek, on the north fide of he Pedee, opposite to Cheraw-Hill.

After

1781.

After the general submission of the militia in the year 1780, a revolution took place highly favourable to the interest of America. The residence of the British army instead of increasing the real friends to royal government, diminished their number, and added new vigor to the opposite party. The British had a post in Ninew fix for thirteen months, during which time the country was filled with rapine, violence and murder. Applications were daily made for redress, yet in that whole period, there was not a fingle instance wherein punishment was inflicted, either on the foldiery or the tories. The people foon found that there was no fecurity for their lives, liberties or property, under the military government of British officers, careless of their civil rights. The peaceable citizens were reduced to that uncommon diffress, in which they had more to fear from oppression, than refistance. They therefore most ardently wished for an American fonce. Under these favourable circumstances General Greene detached General Morgan, to take a position in that district. The appearance of this force, a fincere attachment to the cause of independence and the impolitic conduct of the British, induced several persons to resume their arms, and to act in concert with the continental troops.

When this irruption was made into the district of Ninety six, lord Cornwallis was far advanced in his preparations for the invasion of North-Carolina. To leave General Morgan in his rear, was contrary to military policy. In order therefore to drive him from this station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him, Lieutemant Colonel Tarleton was ordered to proceed with about 1 100 men and "push him to the utmost." He had two sield pieces, and a superiority of infantry in the proportion of sive to four, and of cavalry in the porportion of three to one. Besides this inequality of sorce, two thirds of the troops under General Morgan were militia. With these fair prospects of success, Tarleton engaged Morgan

Jan. 17. these fair prospects of success, Tarleton engaged Morgan at the Cowpens, with the expectation of driving him on of South-Carolina. The latter drew up his men in two lines. The whole of the southern militia, with 190 from North

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orth-Carolina, were put under the command of Colo- 1781. el Pickensuo Thele formed the first line, and were adnced a few hundred yards before the fecond, with orders form on the right of the fecond, when forced to retire. he second line consisted of the light infantry, and a pros of Virginia militia riflemen. Lieutenant Colonel Valhington; with his cavalry and about 45 militia men, ounted and equipped with swords, were drawn up at me distance in the rear of the whole. The open wood which they were formed, was neither secured in front, mk or rear. On the fide of the British, the light leon infantry and fufileers, though worn down with exeme fatigue, were ordered to form in line. Before is order was executed, the line, though far from beg complete, was led to the attack by Tarleton himself. hey advanced with a shout and poured in an incessant e of musquetry. Colonel Pickens directed the men nder his command to restrain their fire, till the Brih were within forty or fifty yards. This order though ecuted with great firmness was not sufficient to repel eir advancing foes. The militia fell back. The Brih advanced and engaged the second line, which after obstinate conflict was compelled to retreat to the calry. In this crisis Lieutenant Colonel Washington ade a fuccessful charge on Captain Ogilvie, who with out forty dragoons, was cutting down the militia, and reed them to retreat in confusion. Lieutenant Colonel oward, almost at the same moment rallied the contiental troops and charged with fixed bayonets. The exnple was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing ould exceed the aftonishment and confusion of the Brih occasioned by these unexpected charges. Their adince fell back on their rear, and communicated a panic the whole. Two hundred and fifty horse which had or been engaged fled with precipitation. The pieces of With tillery were seized by the Americans, and the greatest onfusion took place among the infantry. While they ere in this state of disorder, Lieutenant Colonel Howard lled to them, to "lay down their arms," and promised em good quarter. Some hundreds accepted the offer orth Vol. II. Gg and

178.1.

and surrendered. The first battalion of the 71st, as two British light infantry companies, laid down their and to the American militia. A party which had been to the American militia. A party which had been to some distance in the rear to guard the baggage, wast only body of infantry that escaped. The officer of the detachment on hearing of Tarleton's descript, destroyed great part of the baggage, and netreated to lord conwallis. Upwards of 300 of the British were killed wounded, and above 500 prisoners were taken. Eighundred muskets, two field pieces, 35 baggage waggen and 100 draguon horses full into the stands of the conquerors. The Americans had only 12 men killed a 60 wounded.

General Morgan's good conduct on this memorable de was honoured by Congress with a gold medalial There fo presented medals of filver to Lieutenant Colonels Wal ington and Howard, a fword to colonel Pickens, a bu vet majority to Edward Giles the General's aid de cam and a Captainty to Baron Glassbeck. Lieutenant Colon Tarleton hitherto triumphant in a variety of Skirmilla on this occasion lost his laurels, though he was support by the 7th regiment, one battalion of the 7th, and d companies of light infantry; and his hepulfe did no effential injury to the British interest, than was equivale to all the preceding advantages he had gained. the first link in a chain of causes which finally de down ruin, both in North and South Carolina on royal interest. That impetuofity of Tarleton which acquired him great reputation, when on farmer occasion he had furprifed an incantious enemy, or attacked a pu struck militia, was at this time the occasion of his m Impatient of delay he engaged with fatigued troops, led them on to action, before they were properly form and before the referve had taken its ground. He also guilty of a great overlight in not bringing up a lumn of cavalry to support and improve the advantage he had gained when the Americans retreated.

Lord Cornwallis though preparing to extend his waquests northwardly was not inattentive to the fecurity South-Carolina. Besides the force at Charleston, held

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confiderable body of troops under the command of Rawdon. These were principally stationed at Camin from which central fituation they might easily be and forth to defend the frontiers on to suppress insurdions. To facilitate the intended operations against orth-Carolina, Major Ceaig, with a detachment of aut 300 men from Charleston, and a small marine me took possession of Wilmington. While these arngements were making, the year 1781 commenced with e fairest prospects to the friends of British government. he arrival of General Leftie in Charleston, with his te command in Virginia gave Earl Cornwallis a decided periority, and enabled him to attempt the reduction of loub-Carolina, with a force fufficient to bear down all robable opposition. Arnold was before him in Virginia, hile South-Carolina in his rear, was confidered as cometely subdued. His lordship had much to hope and the to fear. His admirers flattered him with the expection, that his victory at Camden would prove but the own of his glory; and that the events of the approachgeampaign would immortalize his name as the doinperor, at least of the fouthern States. Whilst lord ornwallis was indulging these pleasing prospects, he reived intelligence, no less unwelcome than wnexpected, at Tarleton his favourite officer, in whom he placed e greatest confidence, instead of driving More or out the country, was completely defeated by him. This sprifed and morrified, but did not discourage his lardip. He hoped by vigorous exertions from to obtain paration for the late diffastrous event, and even to reover what he had loft. With the expectation of retakg the prisoners captured at the Cowpens; and to oblirate the impression made by the issue of the late action that place, his lordship instantly determined on the whit of General Morgan, who had moved off toards Virginia with his prisoners. The movements of e rayal army in confequence of this determination inmed General Greene immediately to retreat from Hick's cele, left the British by croffing the upper sources of Pedee, should ger berween him and the detachment,

1731.

which was incumbered with the prisoners. In this of tical fituation General Greene left the main army, und the command of General Huger, and rode 150 mile through the country, to join the detachment under Gen ral Morgan, that he might be in front of lord Con wallis, and direct the motions of both divisions of army, fo as to form a speedy junction between them. In mediately after the action, on the 17th of January, Mon gan fent on his prisoners under a proper guard, and ha ing made every arrangement in his power for their fee rity retreated with expedition. Nevertheless the Britis gained ground upon him. Morgan intended to cross the mountains with his detachment and prisoners, that might more effectually secure the latter : But Greenen his arrival ordered the prisoners to Charlotteville, and directed the troops to Guildford court-house, to white place he had also ordered General Huger to proce the rive

In this retreat the Americans underwent hardfin o'clock is almost incredible. Many of them performed this man ing at so without shoes over frozen ground, which so gashed the made at maked feet, that their blood marked every step of the which we progress. They were sometimes without meat, our manded without flour, and always without spiritous liquor through their march led them through a barren country, which have feet fears are afformed necessaries for a few strangling inhabition or the Their march led them through a barren country, which here fee fearers y afforded necessaries for a few straggling inhabita on the tants. In this severe season, also with very little close made going, they were daily reduced to the necessity of forder nadier of deep creeks, and of remaining wet without any chan perfect the of cloaths, till the heat of their bodies and occasion of the lassifies in the woods dried their statered rags. Too brought these difficulties they submitted without the loss of and but single centinal by desertion. Lond Cornwallis reduce the field, the quantity of his own baggage, and the examples from the followed by the officers under his command. For state the troops, was destroyed. No waggons we though the field with the troops, was destroyed. No waggons we troop referved except those loaded with hospital stores, false ammunition, and four empty ones for the use of the side. The for the royal army, encouraged by the example of his lor in, par and thir

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hip, submitted to levery hardship with cheerfulness. They beheld, without murmuring, their most valuable aggage destroyed their spiritous liquors staved, when hey were entering on hard fervice, and under cirumstances which precluded every prospect of supply. The British had urged the pursuit with so much rapility, that they reached the Catawba on the evening of he same day on which their fleeing adversaries had roffed it. Before the next morning a heavy fall of rain made that river impassable. The Americans, confident of the justice of their cause, considered this event as an herpolition of providence in their favour. It is certain hat if the rifing of the river had taken place a few hours arlier, Gen. Morgan with his whole detachment and goo prisoners would have scarcely had any chance of scape. When the fresh had subsided so far as to leave he river fordable, a large proportion of the King's roops received orders to be in readiness to march at one o'clock in the morning. Fein's had been made of paf- Feb. ing at several different fords, but the real attempt was made at a ford near M'Cowans, the north banks of which were defended by a small guard of militia comnanded by Gen. Davidson. The British marched brough the river upwards of 500 yards wide and about hree feet deep, sustaining a constant fire from the miliis on the opposite bank without returning it till they had made good their passage. The light infantry and grehadier companies as foon as they reached the land difperfed the Americans, Gene Davidson the brave leader of the latter was killed at the first onfet. The militia broughout the neighbouring fettlements were dispirited, and but few of them could be perfuaded to take or keep he field. A fmall party which collected about ten miles from the ford was attacked, and dispersed by Lt. Col.
Building Ally the fords: were abandoned, and the whole royal army croffed over without any farther oppo-Americans continued to flee and the British to pursue. the former by expeditions movements croffed the Yads lor sin, partly in flats, and partly by fording on the second

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the north fide. Though the British were close in their sear, yet the want of boats and the rapid rising of the river from preceding rains made their erofling impost. ble. This fecond hair breadth escape was confidered h the Americans as a farther evidence that their cause was favoured by Heaven. That they in two fuccessive in frances should effect their passage, while their pursus only a few miles in their rear could not follow, impres fed the religious people of that fettlement with fuch fentiments of devotion as added fresh vigor to their exertions in behalf of American independence.

The British having failed in their first scheme of pal-

fing the Yadkin, were obliged to crofs at the upper fords; but before this was completed, the two divisions of the

A merican army made a junction at Guildford court houte Though this had taken place, their combined number

were fo much inferior to the British, that Gen. Green could not with any propriety rifque an action. He therefore called a council of officers, who unanimouls

concurred in opinion that he ought to refire over the Dan, and to avoid an engagement till he was reinforced

Lord Cornwallis knowing the inferiority of the Ameri can force conceived hopes, by getting between General

Greene and Virginia, to cut off his retreat, interest his supplies and reinforcements, and oblige him to figh

under many difadvantages. With this view, his lord

ship kept the upper country where only the rivers an fordable -- fuppofing that his adverfaries, from the wan

of a fufficient number of flats, could not make good the puffage in the deep water below, or in case of their attempt

ing it, he expected to overtake and force them to adion be

fore they could cross. In this expectation he was do

eeived. Gen: Greene by good management eluded h foreflip. The British urged their purfrit with fo mod

rapidity, that the American light troops were on the 14 compelled to retire upwards of 40 miles. By the mo

indefatigable exertions Gen. Greene had that day trail

ported his army, artillery and baggage, over the mid

Dan into Virginia. So rapid was the porfuit, and

narrow the escape, that the van of the pursuing Bill

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The hardhips and difficulties, which the royal army had endergone in this march, were exceeded by the mortification that all their roils and exertions were to no pursole. They conceived it next to impossible that General Greene could escape, without receiving a decisive blow. They therefore cheerfully submitted to difficulties, of which they who reside in cultivated countries can form to adequate ideas. After surmounting incredible hardhips, when they fancied themselves within grasp of their object, they discovered that all their hopes were blasted.

The continental army being driven out of North-Caolina, Earl Cornwallis thought the opportunity favourble for affembling the loyalitts. With this view he left he Dan, and proceeded to Hillsborough. On his arrial there, he creeted the King's standard, and published proclamation, inviting all loyal subjects to repair to it with their arms and ten days provision, and assuring them of his readiness to concur with them in effectual measures for suppressing the remains of rebellion, and for the re-Hablishment of good order and constitutional government. Soon after the King's standard was crected at fillhorough, Tome hundreds of the inhabitants rode ino the British camp. They seemed to be very desirous of peace, but averse to any co-operation for procuring it. They acknowledged the continentals were chafed out of he province, but expressed their apprehensions that they would foon return, and on the whole declined to take my decided part in a cause which yet appeared dangerous. Notwithstanding the indifference or timidity of the evalifts near Hillborough, lord Cornwallis hoped for substantial aid from the inhabitants between Haw and Deep river. He therefore detached Lieut. Col. Tarleon with 450 men, to give countenance to the friends of royal government in that district. Greene being informd that many of the inhabitants had joined his lordship, and that they were repairing in great numbers to make heir fubmission, was apprehensive that unless some spiited measure was immediately taken, the whole country would be loft to the Americans. He therefore conclud1781. Feb. 21.

ed, at every hazard, to recrofs the Dan. This wa done by the light troops, and thefe on the next day were followed by the main body accompanied with a brigade of Virginia militia, Immediately after the return of the Americans to North-Carolina, fome of their light troops, commanded by Gen. Pickens and Lieut. Colo nel Lee, were detached in pursuit of Tarleton, who had been fent to encourage the lofurrection of the loyalifts. Three hundred and fifty of these tories commanded by Col. Pyles, when on their way to join the British, fell in with this light American party, and mile took them for the royal detachment fent for their fup port. The Americans attacked themro laboring under this mistake, to great advantages and cut them down a they were crying out "God fave the King" and making protestations of their loyalty. Natives of the British to lonies, who were of this character, more rarely found mercy than European foldiers. They were confidered by the whig Americans as being cowards, who not only wanted spirit to defend their constitutional rights, bu who unnaturally co-operated with strangers in fixing the chains of foreign domination on themselves and country men. Many of them on this occasion suffered the entremity of military vengeance. Tarleton was refreshing his legion, about a mile from this fcene of flaughter Upon hearing the alarm, he re-croffed the Haw and returned to Hillsborough. On his retreat he cut down for veral of the royalifts, as they were advancing to join the British army, mistaking them for the rebel militia of the These events, together with the return of the American army, overfet all the schemes of lord Com wallis. The tide of public fentiment was no longer it The recruiting service in behalf of the roy army was entirely stopped. The absence of the Ameri can army, for one fortnight longer, might have turne the scale. The advocates for royal government being discouraged by these adverse accidents, and being also go nerally deficient in that ardent zeal which characterile the patriots, could not be induced to act with confidence They were so dispersed over a large extent of a think fettle

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fettled country, that it was difficult to bring them to unite in any common plan. They had no superintending Congress to give system or concert to their schemes. While each little district pursued separate measures, all sere obliged to submit to the American governments. Numbers of them, who were on their way to join lord Cornwallis, fruck with terror at the unexpected return f the American army, and with the unhappy fate of heir brethren, went home to wait events. Their polier was of that timid kind, which disposed them to be more attentive to personal safety, than to the success of either army.

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hink ettle Though Gen. Greene had recroffed, his plan was not to enture upon an immediate action, but to keep alive the courage of his party-- to depress that of the loyalists, and to harass the foragers and detachments of the British, till reaforcements should arrive. While Greene was unequal ven to defensive operations, he lay seven days within ten niles of Cornwallis' camp, but took a new position every light, and kept it a profound secret where the next was to be. By fuch frequent movements lord Cornwallis, could not gain intelligence of his fituation in time to profit by it. He nanceuvered in this manner, to avoid an action for three reeks, during which time he was often obliged to alk bread rom the common foldiers, having none of his own. By he end of that period, two brigades of militia from North-Carolina, and one from Virginia, together with 400 remlars raised for 18 months, joined his army, and gave im a superiority of numbers. He therefore determined lo longer to avoid an engagement. Lord Cornwallishaving ong fought for this, no longer delay took place on either ide. The American army confifted of about 4400 men, March which more than one half were militia. The British f about 2400, chiefly troops grown veteran in victories. he former was drawn up in three lines. The front omposed of North-Carolina militia, the second of Virinia militia, the third and last of continental troops ommanded by Gen. Huger and Col. Williams. After brisk cannonade in front, the British advanced in three olumns. The Hessians on the right, the guards in the VOL. II. Hh

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center, and Lieut. Col. Webster's brigade on the left, and attacked the front line. This gave way when their ad. verfaries were at the distance of 140 yards, and was occasioned by the misconduct of a colonel, who of the advance of the enemy, called out to an officer a fome distance "that he would be furrounded." The alarm was sufficient: Without enquiring into the probe bility of what had been injudiciously suggested, the militia precipitately quitted the field: As one good office may fometimes mend the face of affairs, fo the miscon, duct of a bad one may injure a whole army. Untrained men when on the field are fimilar to each other. difference of their conduct depends much on incidental circumstances, and on none more than the manner of their being led on, and the quality of the officers by whom they are commanded.

The Virginia militia stood their ground, and kept up their fire till they were ordered to retreat. Gen. St. vens their commander, had posted 40 rislemen at equa distances, twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to shoot every man who should leave his post That brave officer though wounded through the thigh did not quit the field. The continental troops were la engaged, and maintained the conflict with great spirit for an hour and a half. At length the discipline of vetera troops gained the day. They broke the fecond Mary land brigade, turned the American left flank, and got rear of the Virginia brigade. They appeared to be gain ing Greene's right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, a retreat was therefor This was made in good order, and no farther than over the reedy fork, a distance of about three miles Greene halted there and drew up till he had collecte most of the stragglers, and then retired to Speedwell iron works, ten miles distant from Guildford. Americans loft 4 pieces of artillery and two ammunition waggons. The victory cost the British dear. led and wounded amounted to feveral hundreds. guards lost Colonel Stuart and three Captains, beside subalterns. Colonel Webster, an officer of distinguished

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merit died of his wounds, to the great regret of the whole 1781. oval army. Generals O'Hara and Howard, and Lieuenant Colonel Tarleton, were wounded. About 300 of he continentals, and one hundred of the Virginia miliis were killed or wounded. Among the former was Major Anderson of the Maryland line a most valuable fficer, of the latter were Generals Huger and Stevens. The early retreat of the North-Carolinians faved them rom much lofs. The American army fustained a great iminution, by the numerous fugitives who instead of ejoining the camp went to their homes. Lord Cornvallis suffered so much that he was in no condition to pprove the advantage he had gained. The British had nly the name, the Americans, all the good consequences fa victory. General Greene retreated, and lord Cornallis kept the field, but notwithstanding the British inerest in North-Carolina was from that day ruined. Mar. 18 oon after this action, lord Cornwallis issued a proclanation setting forth his complete victory, and calling on Il loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part restoring order and good government, and offering a ardon and protection to all rebels, murderers excepted, ho would furrender themselves on or before the 20th f April. On the next day after this proclamation was fued, his lordship left his hospital and 75 wounded men, ith the numerous loyalists in the vicinity, and began a arch towards Wilmington, which had the appearance fa retreat. Major Craig who for the purposes of coperating with his lordship, had been stationed at Wilington, was not able to open a water communication ith the British army while they were in the upper couny. The distance, the narrowness of Cape Fear river, e commanding elevation of its banks, and the hostile ntiments of the inhabitants on each fide of it forbad the tempt. The deftitute condition of the British army, ade it necessary to go to these supplies, which for these alons could not be brought to them.

General Greene no fooner received information of is movement of lord Cornwallis, than he put his ary in motion to follow him. As he had no means of providing

providing for the wounded, of his own, and the Bri tish forces, he wrote a letter to the neighbouring inhabitants of the Quaker persuasion, in which he mention ed his being brought up a Quaker, and urged them n take care of the wounded on both fides. His recommendations prevailed, and the Quakers fupplied the hospitals with every comfort in their power.

March 28.

The Americans continued the pursuit of Cornwall till they had arrived at Ramfay's mill on Deep river but for good reasons desisted from following him an

Lord Cornwallis halted and refreshed his army for ned spirit about three weeks at Wilmington, and then marched one in across the country to Petersburg in Virginia. Before erve as it was known that his lordship had determined on this particular movement, the bold resolution of returning to South prevailed Carolina, was formed by Gen. Greene. This animate with 25 the friends of Congress in that quarter. Had the Ame the Maj rican army followed his lordship, the southern State of 21 m would have conceived themselves conquered; for the doors, a hopes and fears prevailed just as the armies marche ed, he is north or south. Though lord Cornwallis marche ourn the through North-Carolina to Virginia, yet as the American army returned to South-Carolina, the people consisting from dered that movement of his lordship in the light of gain an retreat. retreat.

While the two armies were in North-Carolina, the hia, Go whig inhabitants of South-Carolina were animated military the gallant exertions of Sumter and Marion. The deracy, distinguished partisans, while surrounded with enemis ginia. kept the field. Though the continental army was did ure, was ven into Virginia, they did not despair of the common gade, to wealth. Having mounted their followers, their motion prepared were rapid, and their attacks unexpected. With the inentals light troops they intercepted the British convoys of procommen visions, infested their out posts, beat up their quarter it and sand harassed their detachments with such frequents. Before larms, that they were obliged to be always on the ent ord guard. In the western extremity of the State, Sumt soing to was powerfully supported by Cols. Niel, Lacey, Hill, Wim and also

Bratton, ia comi eastern e affiftance ry, and Postell,

The i hem, an officers a fingly w ar relat

While

Bratton

Bratton, Brandon and others, each of whom held mili- 1781. ia commissions, and had many friends. In the north eaftern extremity, Marion received in like manner great Mitance from the active exertions of Cols. Peter Horry, and Hugh Horry, Lt. Col. John Baxter, Col. James Postell, Major John Postell, and Major John James.

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The inhabitants, either as affection or vicinity induced valle them, arranged themselves under some of the militia officers and performed many gallant enterprises. These ingly were of too little consequence to merit a particuar relation, but in general they displayed the determined spirit of the people and embarrassed the British. One in which Major John Postell commanded may erve as an illustration of the spirit of the times, and on this particularly of the indifference for property which then out prevailed. Capt. James de Peyster of the royal army, mate with 25 grenadiers, having taken post in the house of Ame the Major's father, the Major posted his small command State of 21 militia men, in such positions as commanded its the loors, and demanded their furrender. This being refurcha led, he fet fire to an outhouse, and was proceeding to rche burn that in which they were posted, and nothing but men he immediate submission of the whole party restrained confinin from facrificing his father's valuable property, to t of gain an advantage to his country.

While lord Cornwallis was preparing to invade Virgia a, the nia, Gen. Greene determined to re-commence offensive ted be military operations in the fouthern extreme of the confe-The deracy, in preference to pursuing his lordship into Viremis ginia. Gen. Sumter, who had warmly urged this meaure, was about this time authorised to raise a State bri-nmos sade, to be in service for eighteen months. He had also notion prepared the militia to co-operate with the returning conthe inentals. With these forces an offensive war was ref pro commenced in South-Carolina, and profecuted with fpiarten cit and success.

Before Greene set out on his march for Carolina, he the lent orders to General Pickens, to prevent supplies from soing to the British garrisons at Ninety-Six and Augusta, Wins and also detached Lieutenant Colonel Lee to advancebefore

1781 before the continental troops. The latter in eight days penetrated through the intermediate country to General Marion's quarters upon the Santee. The main army, is a few more days, completed their march from Deep river to Camden. The British had erected a chain of posts from the capital to the extreme districts of the State. which had regular communications with each other. Lord Cornwallis being gone to Virginia, these became objects of enterprize to the Americans. While Gen. Greene was marching with his main force against Camden, fort Watfon, which lay between Camden and Charleston, was invested by Gen. Marion and Lieut. Col. Lee. The besiegen fpeedily erected a work which overlooked the fort, though that was built on an Indian mount upwards of 30 feet high, from which they fired into it with fuch execution that the befieged durst not shew themselves. Under these circumstances the garrison, confisting of 114 men, surrendered by capitulation.

April

23.

Camden, before which the main American army was encamped, is a village fituated on a plain, covered on the fouth and east sides by the Wateree and a creck, the western and northern by fix redoubts. It was defended by lord Rawdon with about 900 men. The American army, confisting only of about an equal number of coatinentals, and between two and three hundred militia, was unequal to the task of carrying this post by storm, or of completely investing it. Gen. Greene therefore took a good position about a mile distant, in expectation of alluring the garrison out of their lines. Lord Rawdon armed his whole force, and with great spirit fallied on the 25th. An engagement ensued. Victory for some time evidently inclined to the Americans, but in the progress of the action, the premature retreat of two companies eventually occasioned the defeat of the whole American army. Greene with his usual firmness, instantly took measures to prevent lord Rawdon from improving the fuccess he had obtained. He retreated with such order that most of his wounded and all his artillery, together with a number of prisoners, were carried of The British retired to Camden, and the Americans encamped

April 25.

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camped about five miles from their former polition. Their of was between two and three hundred. Soon after his action Gen. Greene, knowing that the British garrion could not subfift long in Camden without fresh suplies from Charleston or the country, took such positions as were most likely to prevent their getting any.

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Lord Rawdon received a reinforcement of 4 or 500 men by the arrival of Col. Watfon from Pedee. With his increase of strength, he attempted on the next day o compel Gen. Greene to another action, but found it o be impracticable. Failing in this defign, he returned o Camden and burned the jail, mills, many private houses nd a great deal of his own baggage. He then evacuted the post, and retired to the southward of Santee. His lordship discovered as much prudence in evacuating lamden, as he had shewn bravery in its defence. all of fort Watson broke the chain of communication ith Charleston, and the position of the American arny, in a great measure intercepted supplies from the adcent country. The British in South-Carolina, now cut ff from all communication with lord Cornwallis, would ave hazarded the capital, by keeping large detachments their distant out-posts. They therefore resolved to ontract their limits by retiring within the Santee. This easure animated the friends of Congress in the extreities of the State, and disposed them to co-operate with e American army. While Greene lay in the neighburhood of Camden, he hung in one day eight foldiers, ho had deferted from his army. This had fuch effect terwards that there was no desertion for three months. n the day after the evacuation of Camden the post at rangeburg, confisting of 70 British militia and 12 regue prors, furrendered to Gen. Sumter. On the next day com. rt Motte capitulated. This was fituated above the fork May 12. le A. ftant. the fouth 6de of the Congaree. The British had built prov. eir works round Mrs. Motte's dwelling house. She with eat cheerfulness furnished the Americans with materials fuch firing her own house. These being thrown by them on , toroof foon kindled into flame. The firing of the house, l off

1781.

which was in the center of the British works, compele led the garrison, consisting of 165 men, to surrenders discretion. Let be to the sentence of the cold of the to

May 14.

In two days more the British evacuated their post a Nelfon's ferry, and destroyed a great part of their stores May 15. On the day following, fort Granby, garrifoned by 352 me mostly royal militia, furrendered to Lieut. Col. Lee: Vo ry advantageous terms were given them, from an appre hension that lord Rawdon was marching to their relief

> Their baggage was secured, in which was included a immense quantity of plunder. The American milit were much difgusted at the terms allowed the garrilon and discovered a disposition to break the capitulation an kill the prisoners; but Greene restrained them, by de claring in the most peremptory manner that he would in on of th stantly put to death any one, who should offer violence

claring in the most peremptory manner that he would is feathly put to death any one, who should offer violence to those who by surrendering were under his protection to proceed the stime to Georgetown, and began regular as a bout this time to Georgetown, and began regular as a different night after his men had broken ground, their as therefaries evacuated their works, and retreated to the straight after his men had broken ground, their as the seriaries evacuated their works, and retreated to the straight after one Manson, an inhabitant of South Carolina, who had joined the British, appeared in a grant with a straight after to it. Upwards of forty houses we veral of such as the trapid manner just related, the British losts for such the south-Carolina. They still retained possessing the coast. Immediately after the surrender of fort Grant Lieutenant Colonel Lee began his march for August and in four days completed it.

May 21. The British post at Silver-Bluss, with a field piece as the strong of the surrender of the strong of the surrender of the surrender of last strong of the surrender of the surrender of last strong of the surrender of the surrender of last strong of the surrender of the surrender of last strong of the surrender of the surrender of last strong of the surrender of the surrender of last strong of the surrender of the surrender of last strong of the surrender of surrender of last strong of the surrender of the surrender of last strong of the surrender of surrender of surrender of last strong of the surrender of surrender of surrender of surrender of surrender of surrender of last surrender of surrende

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ther jointly carried on their approaches against fort Cornwallis at Augusta, in which Colonel Brown comnanded. Two batteries were erected within 30 yards of he parapet, which overlooked the fort. From these e works with fuccess: The garrison buried themselves agreat measure under ground, and obstinately refused pro capitulate, till the necessity was so pressing that every an who attempted to fire on the beliegers, was immediely shot down. At length when farther resistance would June 5. ave been madness, the fort with about 300 men furrenered, on honorable terms of capitulation. The Amecans during the fiege had about forty men killed and die ounded. After the surrender, Lieutenant Colonel Grieraldie on of the British militia, was shot by the Americans. Items a reward of 100 guineas was offered, but in vain, for show he perpetrator of the persidious deed. Lieutenant Coloned at Brown, would probably have shared the same sate, at appear not his conquerors surnished him with an establishment to the royal garrison in Savannah. Individuals shose passions were instanted by injuries, and exasperated the personal animosity, were easer to gratify revenge in south polation of the laws of war. Murders had produced in a urders. Plundering, assassinations, and house burness me gs, had become common. Zeal for the King or the state ongress were the ostensible motives of action; but in the same veral of both sides, the love of plunder, private pique, and a savageness of disposition, led to actions which were ounded. After the furrender, Lieutenant Colonel Grierand a favageness of disposition, led to actions which were define a savageness of disposition, led to actions which were left a sugar serious sin the vicinity of Savannah river, and such the example peration of whigs against tories, and of tories against the shigs; and so much had they suffered from and inflictant on each other, that the laws of war, and the precepts ugust humanity afforded but a feeble security for the observance of capitulations on either side. The American nce of capitulations on either fide. The American ficers exerted themselves to procure to their prisoners at safety which many of the inhabitants, influenced by his a remembrance of the sufferings of themselves, and of of a cir friends, were unwilling to allow them. icinit Vol. II. While

While operations were carrying on against the small greates posts, Greene proceeded with his main army and la fiege to Ninety-fix, in which Lieutenant Colonel Cruen with upwards of 500 men was advantageously posted. 0 the left of the befregers was a work, erected in the forme a star. On the right was a strong blockade fort, with two block houses in it. The town was also picquettedi with strong picquets, and surrounded with a dirch, and a bank, near the height of a common parapet. In when fe befiegers were more numerous than the befieged, but the when fe ed the co

The siege was prosecuted with indefatigable industry engages.

The garrison defended themselves with spirit and address Rawdon The tiege was profecuted with indefatigable industry language. The garrifon defended themselves with spirit and address lawdor. On the morning after the siege began, a party saling from the garrison, and drove the advance of the bess as the from their works. The next night, two strong blot batteries were erected at the distance of 350 yards. A nother battery 20 feet high, was erected within 21 yards, and soon after a sourth one was erected with 100 yards of the main fort, and lastly, a risle battery was divided in the bessel of the main fort, and lastly, a risle battery was divided in the bessel of the ditch; for all of which the bessegers fired into the British work garee in The abbatis was turned, and a mine and two trench were so far extended, as to be within fix seet of and offer ditch. At that interesting moment, intelligence was conveyed into the garrison, that ford Rawdon was near conveyed into the garrison, that ford Rawdon was near conveyed into the garrison, that lord Rawdon was near company hand, with about 2000 men for their relief. These hards after they landed. In these circumstances, Gen. Gree sican are had no alternative but to raise the siege, or attempt withdra after they landed. In these circumstances, Gen. Gree sican are had no alternative but to raise the siege, or attempt sind the affailed of success. On this General Gree graifed the siege, and retreated over Saluda. His loss their just the affailed and previous conflicts was about 150 mt Lieutenant Colonel Cruger deservedly gained great resultance attended that redoubt, for the reduction of which, some defended that redoubt, for the reduction of which, some defended that redoubt, for the reduction of which, some defended that redoubt, for the reduction of which, some defended that redoubt, for the reduction of which, the great section of which, the great section in the section of which, the great section is successful deserved to make the section of which, the great section of which, the great section is successful.

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greatest exertions had been made. Truly distressing was he situation of the American army. When they were nearly mafters of the whole country, they were compelled to feek fafety by retreating to its remotest extremity. n this gloomy fituation Greene was advised to retire with his remaining force to Virginia. To fuggestions of this and he nobly replied. "I will recover South-Carolina or die in the attempt." This distinguished officer whose renius was most vigorous in those perilous extremities, when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, adoptd the only expedient now left him, that of avoiding an engagement till the British force should be divided. Lord Rawdon who by rapid marches was near Ninety-fix, at he time of the affault, purfued the Americans as far s the Enoree river; but without overtaking them. Delifting from this fruitless pursuit he drew off a part of his force from Ninty-fix, and fixed a detachment at the Congaree. General Greene on hearing that the British force was divided, faced about to give them battle. Lord Rawdon no less surprised than alarmed at this unexpected movement of his lately retreating foe, abandoned the Conwork garee in two days after he had reached it, and marched rench to Orangeburgh. General Greene in his turn pursued and offered him battle. His lordship would not venture ce wout, and his adversary was too weak to attack him in his near encampment, with any prospect of success.

Reasons similar to those which induced the British to wacuate Camden, weighed with them about this time, to withdraw their troops from Ninety-fix. While the American army law near Orangeburgh Lieutenant Calculations army law near Orangeburgh Lieutenant Calculations. rican army lay near Orangeburgh, Lieutenant Colonel Cruger, having evacuated the post he had gallantly defended, was marching with the troops of that garrison, resoluthrough the forks of Edisto, to join lord Rawdon at Gree Orangeburgh. General Greene being unable to prevent their junction, and still less so to stand before their como me pined force, retired to the high hills of Santee. The evatrep cuation of Camden having been effected by striking at the arly is posts below it, the same manœuvre was now attempted to sinduce the British to leave Orangeburgh. With this view ich, Generals Sumter and Marion, with their brigades, and the

legion

1781. legion cavalry, were detached to Monk's corner and Don chefter. They moved down different roads, and commenced feparate and fuccefsful attacks, on convoys and do tachments in the vicinity of Charleston. In this manne was the war carried on. While the British kept the forces compact, they could not cover the country, and the American General had the prudence to avoid fighting When they divided their army, their detachments were attacked and defeated. While they were in the upper country, light parties of Americans annoyed their fmall posts in the lower settlements. The people foon found that the late conquerors were not able to affor them their promised protection. The spirit of revolting fix pour came general, and the royal interest daily declined.

The British having evacuated all their posts to the Americ northward of Santee and Congaree, and to the westward of tire, but Edisto, conceived themselves able to hold all that fertile and only country, which is in a great measure enclosed by the she ever rivers. They therefore once more resumed their station manded near the junction of the Wateree and Congaree. The wounder induced Gen. Greene to concert farther ineasures so defrom forcing them down towards Charleston. He therefore whole force on the south side of the latter, intending the fact offensively. On his approach the British retired a bout 40 miles nearer Charleston, and took post at the Eutaw springs. Gen. Greene advanced with 2000 mea to attack them in their encampment at this place. It force was drawn up in two lines: The first was compose of militia, and the second of continental troops. As the Americans advanced they fell in with two parties of the British, three or four miles a head of their main arm, and the being britishy attacked soon retired. The militial he low continued to pursue and fire, till the action became gent ral, and till they were obliged to give way. They we well supported by the continental troops. In the hotte of the action Col. O. Williams, and Lieut. Col. Campbe who had with the Maryland and Virginia continentals charged with the Maryland and Virginia continentals charged with the State trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity the both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed a which had the state trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity the both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed a which had country, which is in a great measure enclosed by their the ever

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in good order through a heavy cannonade, and a shower of musketry, with fuch unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them. Lieut. Col. Campbel, while bravely leading his men on to that successful charge, received a mortal wound. After he had fallen he enquired who gave way, and being informed that the British were fleeing in all quarters, replied "I die contented," and immediately expired. The British were vigorously purfued, and upwards of 500 of them were taken prifoners. On their retreat they took post in a strong brick house, and in a picquetted garden: From these advantageous positions they renewed the action. Four fix pounders were ordered up before the house, from under cover of which the British were firing. The Americans were compelled to leave these pieces and refertile and only retreated to the nearest water in their rear. In their the evening of the next day, Lieut. Col. Stuart who comation manded the British on this occasion, left seventy of his This wounded men and a thousand stand of arms, and moves for ed from the Euraws towards Charleston. The loss of the crefor British inclusive of prisoners, was upwards of 1100 men; and his that of the American sabove 500, in which number were ling to fixty efficers.

red a Congress honored Gen. Greene for his good conduct at the in this action, with a British standard and a golden me-

o men dal. They also voted their thanks to the different corps. He and their commanders

suppose Soon after this engagement, the Americans retired to As the heir former position on the high hills of Santee, and of the British took post in the vicinity of Monks-Corner. arms a the close of the year Gen. Greene moved down into milit the lower country, and about the same time the British bandoned their outposts, and retired with their whole bandoned their outposts, and retired with their whole orce to the quarter house on Charleston-neck. The dehotte once of the country was given up, and the conquerors, ample the had lately carried their arms to the extremities of dwit he State, seldom aimed at any thing more than to secure themselves in the vicinity of the capital. The crops, and which had been planted in the spring of the year under British British

1781.

1781.

British auspices, and with the expectation of affording them supplies, fell into the hands of the Americans and administered to them a scasonable relief. The battle of Euraw may be confidered as closing the national war in South-Carolina. A few excursions were afterwards made by the British, and fundry small enterprizes were executed, but nothing of more general confequence than the loss of property, and of individual lives. Thus ended the campaign of 1781, in South-Carolina. At its commence. ment the British were in force over all the State; at in close they durst not, but with great precaution, venture 20 miles from Charleston. History affords but few in. stances of commanders, who have achieved so much with equal means, as was done by Gen. Greene in the thort space of a twelve month. He opened the campaign with gloomy prospects, but closed it with glory. His un. paid and half naked army had to contend with veteral foldiers, supplied with every thing that the wealth of Britain or the plunder of Carolina could procure. Under all ordship these disadvantages, he compelled superior numbers to ag the retire from the extremity of the State, and confine themented, solves in the capital and its vicinity. Had not his mind etermine been of the sirmest texture he would have been discourse April raged, but his enemies found him as formidable on the mingron raged, but his enemies found film as 10 million he man evening of a defeat, as on the morning after a victory he man wo boat

CHAP. XXIV.

to no after this cus agenem, the American regired to Campaign of 1781. Operations in Virginia: Cornwall rwards captured: New-London destroyed.

the ciude as the wear of the Sense are T has already been mentioned that lord Cornwalls foon after the battle of Guildford, marched to Wil mington in North-Carolina. When he had complete that march, various plans of operation were presente to his view. It was faid in favour of his proceeding fouthwardly, that the country between Wilmington and Camden was barren and of difficult passage---that an en barkation for Charleston would be both tedious and di

raceful rioia, a marter, nd feet Other a urn to Virginia ad beg from pa im, the America inder le rehenfi hat lord hat Gei inia, imfelf, of South with his ays wit he Am ithout halifa arties o y little nd the oyal ari ispersed

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raceful-that a junction with the royal forces in Virinia, and the profecution of folid operations in that warter, would be the most effectual plan for effecting nd fecuring the submission of the more southern States. Other arguments of apparently equal force urged his reurn to South-Carolina. Previous to his departure for Virginia, he had received information that Gen. Greene ad begun his march for Camden, and he had reason from past experience to fear that if he did not follow im, the inhabitants by a fecond revolt, would give the American army a superiority over the small force left inder lord Rawdon. Though his lordship was very aprehensive of danger from that quarter, he hoped either hat lord Rawdon would be able to stand his ground, or hat Gen. Greene would follow the royal army to Virinia, or in the most unfavourable event he flattered simfelf, that by the conquest of Virginia, the recovery f Bris of South-Carolina would be at any time practicable. His derail ordship having too much pride to turn back, and preferder all ordinip having too much pride to turn back, and preferers to ag the extensive scale of operations which Virginia prethem ented, to the narrow one of preserving past conquests,
mind letermined to leave Carolina to its fate. Before the end
isconof April, he therefore proceeded on his march, from Wilon the mington towards Virginia. To favour the passage of
isconhe many rivers, with which the country is intersected,
we boats were mounted on carriages and taken along
with his army. The King's troops proceeded several ays without opposition, and almost without intelligence. The Americans made an attempt at Swift-creek and af-nwall rwards at Fishing-creek to stop their progress, but ithout any effect. The British took the shortest road Halifax, and on their arrival there defeated several o Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Americans and took some stores, with veo Wil wallis arties of the Meherrin,
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essential arties of the Nottaway rivers were successively crossed by the
essential arties of the Nottaway rivers were successivel an em tter had been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous, a private correspondence with Gen. Philips. By this aceful combination

Virginia, with the troops which had marched from Wilmington, lord Cornwallis was at the head of a very powerful army. This junction was fearcely completed, when lord Cornwallis received lord Rawdon's report of the advantage he had gained over Gen. Greene, on the 25th of the preceding month. About the fame time he received information that three British regiments had failed from Cork for Charleston.

These two events eased his mind of all anxiety for South-Carolina, and inspired him with brilliant hopes of a glorious campaign. He confidered himself as having already subdued both the Carolinas, and as being in fair way to increase his military fame, by the addition of Virginia to the lift of his conquests. By the late combination of the royal forces under Philips and Cornwal lis, and by the recent arrival of a reinforcement of 1500 men directly from New-York, Virginia became the prin cipal theatre of operations for the remainder of the campaign. The formidable force, thus collected in on body, called for the vigorous exertions of the friends independence. The defensive operations, in oppositions it, were principally entrusted to the Marquis de la Fayett Early in the year he had been detached from the mi American army on an expedition, the object of which was a co-operation with the French fleet in capturing On the failure of this, the Marqui marched back as far as the head of Elk. There here ceived an order to return to Virginia to oppose the Br tish forces, which had become more formidable by the arrival of a confiderable reinforcement, under Gen. Phi lips. He proceeded without delay to Richmond, and a rived there the day before the British reached Manche ter, on the opposite side of James river. Thus was the capital of Virginia, at that time filled with almost the military stores of the State, faved from immine So great was the superiority of numbers the fide of the British, that the Marquis had before his a labor of the greatest difficulty, and was pressed will many embarraffments. In the first moments of the

temp ge, he ted or drage Lord er whi ough munke tatag army plied private coun e ther e, with bly of roy fte mitted ture fe nticy er expe was o rioufly Fork.

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h had court or. II. tempest, and till he could provide against its utmost 1781. e, he began to retire with his little army, which coned only of about 1000 regulars, 2000 militia, and dragoons.

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Lord Cornwallis advanced from Petersburg to James er which he croffed at Westown, and thence marching ough Hanover county croffed the South Anna or munkey river. The Marquis followed his motions, at a guarded distance. The superiority of the Briarmy, especially of their cavalry, which they easily plied with good horses from the stables and pastures private gentlemen in Virginia, enabled them to traverse country in all directions. Two diffant expeditions e therefore undertaken. The one was to Charlottee, with the view of capturing the Governor and Afbly of the State. The other to Point of Fork to roy stores. Lt. Col. Tarleton to whom the first was mitted, succeeded so far as to disperse the Assembly, ture feven of its members, and to destroy a great ntity of stores at and near Charlotteville. The er expedition which was committed to Lt. Col. Sim. was only in part successful, for the Americans had roully removed the most of their stores from Point Fork. In the course of these marches and counter ches, immense quantities of property were destroyed fundry unimportant skirmishes took place. ish made many partial conquests, but these were om of longer duration than their encampments. young Marquis, with a degree of prudence that ld have done honor to an old foldier, acted fo cauly on the defensive and made so judicious a choice of , and shewed so much vigor and design in his ements, as to prevent any advantage being taken of weakness. In his circumstances, not to be destroywas triumph. He effected a junction at Racoonnninen with Gen. Wayne, who was at the head of 800 nylvanians. While this junction was forming the ore his h got between the American army and its stores, ed wit had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle the m court house. The possession of these was an ob-OL. II. Kk ject

1781.

ject with both armies. The Marquis by forced march got within a few miles of the British army, when the were two days march from Albemarle old court how The British general considered himself as sure of his versary for he knew that the stores were his object; he conceived it impracticable for the Marquis to between him and the shore; but by a road in a ing which he might be attacked to advantage. I Marquis had the address to extricate himself from difficulty, by opening in the night a nearer road Albemarle old court house which had been long diffe and was much embarraffed. To the furprize of h Cornwallis, the Marquis fixed himself the next day tween the British army and the American stores. Cornwallis, finding his schemes frustrated fell back Richmond. About this time the Marquis' army was re forced by Steuben's troops, and by militia from the pa 'adjacent. He followed lord Cornwallis, and had

address to impress him with an idea that the American

ter the main body of the British army arrived the

their rear was attacked by an American light corps

army was much greater then it really was.

thip therefore retreated to Williamsburg.

June 18.

June 26.

der Col. Butler and fustained a confiderable loss. About the time lord Cornwallis reached Williams he received intelligence from New-York, fetting for the danger to which the royal army in that city was posed from a combined attack, that was faid to be the ened by the French and Americans. Sir Henry Clin therefore required a detachment from Earl Cornw if he was not engaged in any important enterprife, recommended to him a healthy station, with an a defensive force, till the danger of New-York was perfed. Lord Cornwallis thinking it expedient to ply with this requisition, and judging that his come afterwards would not be adequate to maintain his pro position at Williamsburg, determined to retire to Pe For the execution of this project, it was ceffary to cross James river. The Marquis de la Far conceiving this to be a favourable opportunity for a offent

Henfiy gon ody of ards v ontrai my di ived th erilous ance, etreat. l an a allis, this l In the ere jo y of ther jo mmor afe fa d the r Earl r Port eps fo inton, ut befo Clinto mibur d his c ould b he com rdship nder hi aminat tion fo mpaigr ms in

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fenfively, advanced on the British. Gen. Wayne relyg on the information of a countryman, that the main ody of the British had crossed James river, pushed forards with about 800 light troops to harafs their rear. ontrary to his expectations, he found the whole British my drawn up ready to oppose him. He instantly conived that the best mode of extricating himself from his erilous fituation would be, to affume a bold counteance, and engage his adversaries before he attempted to July 6. treat. He therefore pressed on for some time, and urgan attack with spirit before he fell back. Lord Cornallis, perhaps suspecting an ambuscade, did not pursue. this bold manœuvre Wayne got off but with little loss. In the course of these various movements, the British ere joined by few of the inhabitants, and fearcely by y of the natives. The Virginians for the most part her joined the Americans, or what was much more mmon, kept out of the way of the British. ale fafety by submission was the policy of very few. d these were for the most part natives of Britain. r Earl Cornwallis had croffed James river, he marched r Portsmouth. He had previously taken the necessary eps for complying with the requisition of Sir Henry inton, to send a part of his command to New York. ut before they failed, an express arrived from Sir Hen-Clinton with a letter, expressing his preference of Wilmiburgh to Portsmouth for the residence of the army, d his defire that Old-Point-Comfort or Hampton road ould be secured as a station for line of battle ships. he commander in chief, at the same time, allowed his rdship to detain any part or the whole of the forces der his command, for completing this fervice. amination, Hampton road was not approved of as a tion for the navy. It being a principal object of the mpaign to fix on a strong permanent post or place of ms in the Chesapeak for the security of both the ary and navy, and Portsmouth and Hampton road having th been pronounced unfit for that purpose, own and Gloucester Points were considered as most liketo accord with the views of the royal commanders. rtsmouth was therefore evacuated, and its garrison transferred

1781.

transferred to York-Town. Lord Cornwallis availed himself of Sir Henry Clinton's permission to retains whole force under his command, and impressed with the necessity of establishing a strong place of arms in the Chesapeak, applied himself with industry to fortify h new posts, so as to render them tenable by his prese army, amounting to 7000 men, against any force the he supposed likely to be brought against them.

At this period the officers of the British navy exper ed that their fleet in the West-Indies would join the and that folid operations in Virginia would in a fee

time re-commence with increased vigor.

Aug. 30.

While they were indulging these hopes Count de Gri with a French fleet of 28 fail of the line from the We Indies entered the Chefapeak, and about the fame in intelligence arrived, that the French and American a mies which had been lately stationed in the more non ern States, were advancing towards Virginia. Count Graffe, without loss of time, blocked up York river wi three large ships and some frigates, and moored the pri cipal part of his fleet in Lynhaven-bay. Three tho fand two hundred French troops, brought in this he from the West-Indies, commanded by the Marquis indecis St. Simon, were disembarked and soon after formal ling to junction with the continental troops under the Marque decline de la Fayette, and the whole took post at Williamsbur was to An attack on this force was intended, but before all the rangements subservient to its execution were fixed up to a pro-letters of air early date in September were received this sle lord Cornwallis from Sir Henry Clinton, annound de Gr in Chesapeak, or make every diversion in his power, a muda. that Admiral Digby was hourly expected on the component of this intelligence Earl Cornwallis, to came of thinking himself justified in hazarding an engagement and de abandoned the resolution of attacking the combined so these of Fayette and St. Simon. It is the province of him hight, to relate what has happened, and not to indulge component in the boundless field of contingencies; other rity. It might be added that Earl Cornwallis, by this characteristics.

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of opinion, lost a favourable opportunity of extricating 1781. himself from a combination of hostile force, which by farther concentration foon became irrefistible. On the other hand if an attack had been made, and that had proved unfuccefsful, he would have been charged with rathness in not waiting for the promised co-operation. On the same uncertain ground of conjecturing what ought to have been done, it might be faid that the knowledge Earl Cornwallis had of public affairs would have justified him in abandoning York-Town, in order to return to South-Carolina. It feems as though this would have been his wifest plan; but either from an opinion that his instructions to stand his ground were positive, or that e Wel effectual relief was probable, his lordship thought proper to risque every thing on the issue of a siege. An attempt was made to burn or dislodge the French ships in the river, but none to evacuate his posts at this early period, when that measure was practicable.

Admiral Greaves with 20 fail of the line, made an effort for the relief of lord Cornwallis, but without effecting his purpose. When he appeared off the capes of Virginia, M. de Graffe went out to meet him, and an erquist indecifive engagement took place. The British were wil- Sep. 7. ormed ling to renew the action; but de Graffe for good reasons Marque declined it. His chief object in coming out of the capes was to cover a French fleet of eight line of battle ships, Il the which was expected from Rhode-Island. In conformity ed up to a preconcerted plan, Count de Barras commander of eived this fleet, had failed for the Chefapeak, about the time nound de Grasse sailed from the West-Indies for the same place. yal and To avoid the British fleet, he had taken a circuit by Ber-wer, a muda. For fear that the British fleet might intercept him wer, a muda. For fear that the British fleet might intercept him he can on his approach to the capes of Virginia; de Grasse allis, t came out to be at hand for his protection. While Greaves agent and de Grasse were manœuvering near the mouth of the ned to Chesapeak, Count de Barras passed the former in the night, and got within the capes of Virginia. This gave e con the fleet of his most Christian Majesty a decided superiother rity. Admiral Greaves soon took his departure, and M. is chief de Graffe re-entered the Chefapeak. All this time conformably

1781

formably to the well digested plan of the campaign, the French and the American forces were marching through the middle states on their way to York-town. To understand their proper connexion, the great events shortly to be described, it is necessary to go back and trace the remote causes which brought on this grand combination of sleets and armies which put a period to the war.

The fall of Charleston in May 1780, and the complete rout of the American fouthern army in August following, together with the increasing inability of the Amo ricans to carry on the war, gave a ferious alarm to the friends of independence. In this low ebb of their affairs, a pathetic statement of their distresses was made to their illustrious ally the King of France. To give great er efficacy to their folicitations, Congress appointed Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens their special minister, and directed him after repairing to the court of Verfailles, to urge the necessity of speedy and effectual succour, andia particular to folicit for a loan of money, and the cooperation of a French fleet, in attempting some imporant enterprise against the common enemy. His great a bilities as an officer, had been often displayed; but of this occasion, the superior talents of the statesman and negotiator were called forth into action. Animated he was with the arder of the warmest patriotism, and feeling most fensibly for the diffresses of his country, his whole foul was exerted to interest the court of France giving a vigorous aid to their allies. His engaging man ners and infinuating address, procured a favourable m ception to his representations. He won the hearts those who were at the helm of public affairs, and inflam ed them with zeal to affift a country whose cause wa fo ably pleaded, and whose sufferings were so pathetical represented. At this crisis his most Christian Majel gave his American allies, a fubfidy of fix millions livres, and became their fecurity for ten millions mor borrowed for their use in the United Netherlands. naval co-operation was promifed and a conjunct expedit on against their common foes was projected.

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The American war was now for far involved in the 1781. confequences of naval operations, that a superior French fleet, feemed to be the only hinge on which it was likely foon to take a favourable turn. The British army being parcelled in the different sea ports of the United States, any division of it blocked up by a French fleet, could not long refift the superior combined force, which might be brought to operate against it. The Marquis de Castries who directed the marine of France, with great precision calculated the naval force, which the British could concentre on the coast of the United States, and disposed his own in fuch a manner as enfured him a fuperiority. In conformity to these principles, and in subserviency to the defign of the campaign, M. de Graffe failed in March 1781, from Brest with 25 sail of the line, several thoufand land forces, and a large convoy amounting to more than 200 ships. A fmall part of this force was destined for the East-Indies, but M. de Graffe with the greater part failed for Martinique. The British fleet then in the West-Indies, had been previously weakened by the departure of a squadron for the protection of the ships. which were employed in carrying to England the booty which had been taken at St. Eustatius. The British Admirals Hood and Drake, were detached to intercept the outward bound French fleet commanded by M. de Graffe, but a junction between his force and eight ships of the line and one of 50 guns, which were previously at Martinique and St. Domingo, was nevertheless effected. By this combination of fresh ships from Europe, with the French fleet previously in the West-Indies, they had a decided superiority. M. de Grasse having finished his business in the West-Indies, sailed in the beginning of August with a prodigious convoy. After feeing this out of danger he directed his course for the Chesapeak, and arrived there as has been related on the thirtieth of the fame month. Five days before his arrival in the Chefapeak, the French fleet in Rhode-Island failed for the fame place. These fleets notwithstanding their original distance from the scene of action and from each other, coincided in their operations in an extraordinary manner, far

tended to one object and at one and the same time, and that object was neither known nor suspected by the British, till the proper season for counter-action was elapsed. This co-incidence of favourable circumstances, extended to the marches of the French and American land forces. The plan of operations had been so well digested, and was so faithfully executed by the different commanders, that Gen. Washington and Count Rochambeau, had passed the British head quarters in New-York, and were considerably advanced in their way to York-town, before Count

May

derably advanced in their way to York-town, before Count de Grasse had reached the American coast. This was ef. 6. fected in the following manner, Monfr. de Barras ap. pointed to the command of the French squadron at Newport, arrived at Boston with dispatches for Count de Rochambeau. An interview foon after took place at Weathers. field, between Gen. Washington, Knox and du Portail on the part of the Americans, and Count de Rochambeau and the Chavalier Chastelleux, on the part of the French. At this interview, an eventual plan of the whole campaign was fixed. This was to lay fiege to New-York in concert with a French fleet, which was to arrive on the coast in the month of August. It was agreed that the French troops should march towards the North-river. Letters were addressed by Gen. Washington to the executive officers of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New-Jersey, requiring them to fill up their battalions, and to have their quotas 6200 militia in readiness, within a week of the time they might be called for. Conformably to these outlines of the campaign, the French troops marched from Rhode-Island in June, and early in the following month joined the American army. About the time this junction took place, Gen. Washington marched his army from their winter encampment near Peeks-kill, to the vicinity of Kingsbridge. General Lincoln fell down the North-river with a detachment in boats, and took possession of the ground where fort Independence formerly stood. An attack was made upon him but was foon discontinued. The British about this time, retired with almost the whole of their force w York-Island

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York-Island. Gen. Washington hoped to be able to commence operations against New-York, about the middle, or at farthest the latter end of July. Flat botomed boats fufficient to transport 5000 men were built car Albany, and brought down Hudson's river to the eighbourhood of the American army before New-York. ovens were erected opposite to Staten-Island, for the use the French troops. Every movement was made which ras introductory to the commencement of the fiege. It ras not a little mortifying to Gen. Washington, to find himself on the 2d of August to be only a few hundreds tronger, than he was on the day his army first moved rom their winter quarters. To have fixed on a plan of perations, with a foreign officer at the head of a respecable force: To have brought that force from a confierable distance, in confident expectation of reinforcenents sufficiently large to commence effective operatins against the common enemy, and at the same time to ave engagements in behalf of the state violated in direct pposition to their own interest, and in a manner derogabry to his personal honour, was enough to have excited forms and tempests, in any mind less calm than that of Gen. Washington. He bore this hard trial with his usual hagnanimity, and contented himself with repeating his equifitions to the states, and at the same time urged hem by every tie, to enable him to fulfil engagements stered into on their account, with the commander of he French troops, a double and the wor

That tardiness of the states, which at other times had rought them near the brink of ruin, was now the acciental cause of real service. Had they sent forward their cruits for the regular army, and their quotas of milia as was expected, the siege of New-York would have ommenced, in the latter end of July, or early in August. While the season was wasting away in expectation of these inforcements, lord Cornwallis as has been mentioned, and himself near the capes of Virginia. His situation here, the arrival of a reinforcement of 3000 Germans om Europe to New-York, the superior strength of lat garrison, the sailure of the states in filling up their Vol. II.

battalions and embodying their militia, and especially me 1781. cent intelligence from Count de Graffe, that his destinai. on was fixed to the Chefapeak, concurred about the mid-

Aug. 15 dle of August, to make a total change of the plan of the campaign in a no bull awab requord bits AraclA a

The appearance of an intention to attack New-York was nevertheless kept up. While this deception was played off, the allied army croffed the North-river, and passed on by the way of Philadelphia, through the inter mediate country, to York-town. An attempt to reduce the British force in Virginia promised success with mon expedition, and to fecure an object of nearly equal in portance as the reduction of New York. No one to undertake to fay what would have been the confequence if the allied forces had perfevered in their original plan but it is evident from the event, that no fuccess con have been greater, or more conducive to the establish ment of their schemes, than what resulted from the operations in Virginia. 501 to diaded at stinearegagas ser

While the attack of New-York was in ferious con templation, a letter from General Washington detailing the particulars of the intended operations of the campaign, being intercepted, fell into the hands of & Henry Clinton. After the plan was changed, the ron commander was so much under the impression of the intelligence contained in the intercepted letter, that h believed every movement towards Vinginia to be a fein calculated to draw off his attention from the defences New-York. Under the influence of this popinion k bent his whole force to strengthen that post, and suffer ed the French and American armies to pass him withou any moleftation. When the best opportunity of striking at them was elapsed, then for the first time he was brought to believe that the allies had fixed on Virginia for the theatre of their combined operations. A truth may be made to answer the purposes of deception so no feint of attacking New-York, could have bet more successful than the real intention.

Aug. 24. In the latter end of August the American army beg their march to Virginia, from the neighbourhood of Ner down

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York Gen. Washington had advanced as far as Chefter, before he received the news of the arrival of the fleet, commanded by Monfr. de Graffe. The French troops marched at the same time, and for the same place. In the course of this summer they passed through all the extensive settlements which lie between Newport and York-Town. It feldom, if ever happened before, that an army led through a foreign country, at fo great a difance from their own, among a people of different principles, customs, language, and religion, behaved with fo much regularity. In their march to York-Town they had to pass through 500 miles of a country abounding in fruit, and at a time when the most delicious productions of nature, growing on and near the public highways, presented both opportunity and temptation to gratify their appetites. Yet fo complete was their difcipline, that in this long march, scarce an instance could be produced of a peach or an apple being taken, without the consent of the inhabitants. Gen. Washington and Count Rochambeau reached Williamsburg on the 14th Sep. 14. of September. They with Generals Chaftelleux, Du Portail, and Knox proceeded to vifit Count de Graffe on board

1781.

rations. The Count afterwards wrote to Washington, that in case a British fleet appeared, " he conceived that he ought to go out and meet them at fea, instead of risquing an engagement in a confined fituation." This alarmed the General. He fent the Marquis de la Fayette, with letter to diffuade him from the dangerous measure. This letter and the perfuasions of the Marquis had the defired effect.

his ship the Ville de Paris, and agreed on a plan of ope-

The combined forces proceeded on their way to Yorktown, partly by land, and partly down the Chefapeak. The whole, together with a body of Virginia militia, under he command of General Nelson, amounting in the aggregate to 12,000 men, rendezvoused at Williamsburg on the 25th of September, and in five days after, moved down to the investiture of York-town. The French heet at the fame time moved to the mouth of York-river,

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and took a position which was calculated to prevent lone Cornwallis, either from retreating, or receiving fuccourt water. Previously to the march from Williamsburgto York-town, Washington gave out in general orders follows. " If the enemy should be tempted to meet the army on its march, the General particularly enjoins h troops to place their principal reliance on the bayone that they may prove the vanity of the boaft, which the British make of their peculiar prowess, in deciding battle with that weapon." we was spanied to the first rate for

The combined army halted in the evening, about two miles from York-town, and lay on their arms i night. On the next day Colonel Scammell, an officere uncommon merit, and of the most amiable manners, approaching the outer works of the British, was morth wounded and taken prisoner. About this time In Cornwallis received a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, a nouncing the arrival of Admiral Digby with three this of the line from Europe, and the determination of the General and flag officers in New-York to embark 500 men in a fleet, which would probably fail on the 5th October --- that this fleet confifted of 23 fail of the lin and that joint exertions of the navy and army would made for his relief. On the night after the receipt of the intelligence, Earl Cornwallis quitted his outward position and retired to one more inward.

The works erected for the fecurity of York-town the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line stockade in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in front the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The morass extended along the center, which was defended the less a line of stockade, and by batteries: On the lest of the co center was a hornwork with a ditch, a row of fraize and them abbatis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left. The duction combined forces advanced and took possession of the ground therefrom which the British had retired. About this time the legion cavalry and mounted infantry, passed over the rise and p to Gloucester, General de Choisy invested the British paredou on that side so fully, as to cut off all communication by wound tween it and the country, In the mean time the row the carm nt lord our by ourgie dersa eet the ins to ayone ich th battle 1217 abou rms a fficero ners, i nortal ne Ea on, an ee ship of th k 500 5 the he line ouldk t of thi position own (line (fronte t. Th ended ft of th

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rmy was straining every nerve to strengthen their works nd their artillery was constantly employed in impeding he operations of the combined army. On the oth and oth of October, the French and Americans opened heir batteries. They kept up a brisk and well directed ire from heavy cannon, from mortars and howitzers. The shells of the befiegers reached the ships in the harour, the Charon of 44 guns and a transport ship were urned. On the 10th a meffenger arrived with a difatch from Sir Henry Clinton to Earl Conwallis, dated on he 30th of September, which stated various circumstances ending to leffen the probability of relief being obtained, va direct movement from New-York. Earl Cornwals was at this juncture advised to evacuate York-town, and fter passing over to Gloucester, to force his way into the ountry. Whether this movement would have been fucessful, no one can with certainty pronounce, but it could not have produced any consequences more injurious to he royal interest, than those which resulted from delining the attempt. On the other hand had this movenent been made, and the royal army been defeated or aptured in the interior country, and in the mean time had Sir Henry Clinton with the promifed relief, reached York town, the precipitancy of the noble Earl, would have been perhaps more the subject of censure, than his esolution of standing his ground and resisting to the last extremity. From this uncertain ground of conjectures, proceed to relate real events. The befiegers comnenced their fecond parallel 200 yards from the works of he befieged. Two redoubts which were advanced on he left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of he combined armies. It was therefore proposed to carry ceandar them by storm. To excite a spirit of emulation, the re-lest. The duction of the one was committed to the French, of the e grow other to the Americans. The affailants marched to the ether affault with unloaded arms; having passed the abbatis the rise and palifades, they attacked on all fides, and carried the tith por redoubt in a few minutes with the loss of 8 killed and 28 tion be wounded, Lieutenant Colonel Laurens personally took he rop the commanding officer prisoner. His humanity and that

1781.

II.

that of his affociates, fo overcame their refentmen that they spared the British, though they were charge when they went to the affualt, to remember New-London (the recent maffacres at which place shall be hereaftern lated) and to retaliate by putting the men in the redo to the fword. Being asked why they had disobeyed order by bringing them off as prisoners, they answered, "W could not put them to death, when they begged for the lives." About five of the British were killed and then were captured. Colonel Hamilton who conducted the enter prife, in his report to the Marquis de la Fayette mention ed to the honour of his detachment, "that incapable imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting reco provocations, they spared every man who ceased to reful The French were equally fuccessful on their put

They carried the redoubt affigned to them with rapidin but loft a considerable number of men, These twon doubts were included in the fecond parallel, and facilitate the subsequent operations of the besiegers. The Brid could not with propriety rifque repeated fallies. One w Oft. 16. projected at this time confifting of 400 men, commande by Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie. He proceeded far as to force two redoubts, and to fpike eleven pieces cannon. Though the officers and foldiers displayed gra bravery in this enterprife, yet their fuccefs produced effential advantage. The cannon were foon unspike and rendered fit for fervice.

By this time the batteries of the befiegers were cover ed with nearly a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, a the works of the befieged were fo damaged, that the could scarcely shew a fingle gun. Lord Cornwallis h now no hope left but from offering terms of capitulain or attempting an escape. He determined on the land This though less practicable than when first propole was not altogether hopeless. Boats were prepared ton ceive the troops in the night, and to transport them Gloucester-Point. After one whole embarkation he es, use crossed, a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the boats employed on this business, and frustrated the who tain a scheme. The royal army, thus weakened by division need he Order was exposed to increased danger.

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Orders were fent to those who had passed, to re-cross eriver to York-Town. With the failure of this scheme e last hope of the British army expired. Longer reance could answer no good purpose, and might occathe loss of many valuable lives. Lord Cornwallis refore wrote a letter to Gen. Washington, requesting reflation of arms for 24 hours, and that commissionmight be appointed to digest terms of capitulation. is remarkable while Lieut. Col. Laurens, the officer ploved by Gen. Washington on this occasion, was wing up thefe articles, that his father was closely coned in the tower of London, of which Earl Cornwalwas Constable. By this fingular combination of cirmstances, his lordship became a prisoner, to the fon of own prisoner.

The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered a capitulation, the principal articles of which were as lows: The troops to be prisoners of war to Congress, d the naval force to France. The officers to retain eir fide arms and private property of every kind; but property, obviously belonging to the inhabitants of United States, to be subject to be reclaimed. The diers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland and Pennfylnia, and to be supplied with the same rations, as are al. ved to foldiers in the fervice of Congress. rtion of the officers to march into the country with prisoners; the rest to be allowed to proceed on pae to Europe, to New-York, or to any other Amerimaritime post in possession of the British. The hor of marching out with colors flying, which had been ifed to Gen. Lincoln on his giving up Charleston, was wrefused to Earl Cornwallis; and General Lincoln s appointed to receive the submission of the royal arat York-Town, precifely in the same way his own propose d been conducted, about 18 months before. Lord red to no mwallis endeavoured to obtain permission for the Brithem thand German troops to return to their respective countion has es, under no other restrictions than an engagement not ried the ferve against France or America. He also tried to he who tain an indemnity for those of the inhabitants who had division ned him; but he was obliged to recede from the for-

mer, and also to consent that the loyalists in his cannot should be given up, to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordship nevertheless obtained permit fion for the Bonetta floop of war to pass unexamine to New-York. This gave an opportunity of screen ing fuch of them, as were most obnoxious to the Am ricans. clone of arms for 24 hours, and that

The regular troops of France and America, emplo ed in this siege, consisted of about 7000 of the forme and 5500 of the latter; and they were affifted by about 4000 militia. On the part of the combined army about 320 were killed or wounded. On the part of the Br tish about 500; and 70 were taken in the redoubts, which were carried by affault on the 14th of October. The troops of every kind that furrendered prisoners of w exceeded 7000 men, but so great was the number of fick and wounded, that there were only 3800 capable bearing arms. The French and American engineers a artillery, merited and received the highest applause. Br gadiers General Du Portail and Knox were both pro moted to the rank of Major Generals, on account a their meritorious services. Lieut. Col. Gouvion a Captain Rochefontaine of the corps of engineers, spectively received brevets, the former to the rank of Colonel, and the latter to the rank of a Major.

Congress honored Gen. Washington, Count de Ro chambeau, Count de Graffe and the officers of the di ferent corps, and the men under them, with thanks to their services in the reduction of lord Cornwallis. whole project was conceived with profound wifdom, at the incidents of it had been combined with fingular pr priety. It is not therefore wonderful, that from the markable coincidence in all its parts, it was crowned with unvaried fuccess.

A British fleet and an army of 7000 men, destine for the relief of lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chel peak on the 24th of October; but on receiving advice of his lordship's surrender, they returned to Sandy-hoo and New-York. Such was the fate of that General from whose gallantry and previous successes the speed conquel ring of

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1781.

onquests of the southern States had been so confidently pected. No event during the war bid fairer for overming the independence of at least a part of the conferacy, than his complete victory at Camden; but by the nsequences of that action, his lordship became the ocson of rendering that a revolution, which from his revious success was in danger of terminating in a rebelon. The loss of his army may be confidered as the oling scene of the continental war in North America. The troops under the command of lord Cornwallis ad spread waste and ruin over the face of all the counv for four hundred miles on the fea coast, and for two undred miles to the west-ward. Their marches from harleston to Camden, from Camden to the river Dan. om the Dan through North-Carolina to Wilmington, om Wilmington to Petersburg, and from Petersburg rough many parts of Virginia, till they finally fettled York-Town, made a route of more than eleven hunred miles. Every place through which they passed in ese various marches, experienced the effects of their pacity. Their numbers enabled them to go whitherever they pleased, their rage for plunder disposed em to take whatever they had the means of removing, d their animofity to the Americans led them often to e wanton destruction of what they could neither use r carry off. By their means thousands had been inlved in diffress. The reduction of such an army ocsioned unufual transports of joy, in the breasts of the hole body of the people. Well authenticated testiony afferts that the nerves of some were so agitated, to produce convulsions, and that at least one man pired under the tide of pleasure which slowed in upon m, when informed of his lordship's surrender*. The ople throughout the United States displayed a social sumph and exultation, which no private prosperity is er able fully to inspire. General Washington, on the y after the furrender, ordered "that those who were Vol. II. Mm under

The door keeper of Congress an aged man died suddenly, immediately after ting of the capture of lord Cornwallis' army. This death was univery ascribed to a violent emotion of political joy.

orders closed as follows, "divine service shall be performed to morrow in the different brigades and division. The commander in chief recommends, that all the troop that are not upon duty do affish at it with a serious of portment, and that sensibility of heart, which the real lection of the surprising and particular interposition providence in our favour claims." Congress on recessed.

Sept. 6. ing the official account of the great events, which he taken place at York-town, refolved to go in process to church and return public thanks to Almighty 6 for the advantages they had gained. They also issue proclamation for "religiously observing through United States the 13th of December as a day of that giving and prayer." The singularly interesting event captivating a second royal army, produced strong a tions, which broke out in all the variety of ways which the most rapturous joy usually displays itself.

fiege of York-town, an excursion was made from No York, which was attended with no small loss to the mericans. Gen. Arnold who had lately returned fi Virginia, was appointed to conduct an expedition, object of which, was the town of New-London in native country. The troops employed therein, landed in two detachments on each fide of the harbo The one was commanded by Lieut. Col. Eyre and other by General Arnold. The latter met with opposition, fort Trumbull and a redoubt which intended to cover the harbour, not being tenable evacuated, and the men croffed the river to fort Griff on Groton hill. This was furiously attacked by Lie Col. Eyre: The garrison defended themselves with g resolution, but after a severe conflict of forty minu the fort was carried by the affailants. The America had not more than fix or feven men killed, when British carried their lines, but a severe execution to place afterwards, though refistance had ceased. ficer of the conquering troops enquired on his enter the fort who commanded. Col. Ledyard answer

While the combined armies were advancing to

Sept. 6

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I did, but you do now." And presented him his fword. 1781. he Col. was immediately run through the body and lled. Between 30 and 40 were wounded, and about were carried off prisoners, On the fide of the British were killed and 145 wounded: Among the latter was ajor Montgomery, and among the former was Colonel re. About 15 veffels toaded with the effects of the inhacants, retreated up the river, and four others remained in harbour unhurt, but all excepting these were borned the communication of fire from the burning stores. my dwelling houses and 84 stores were reduced to ashes. closs which the Americans sustained by the destructiof naval stores, of provisions and merchandise, was mense. Gen. Arnold having completed the object of the pedition, returned in eight days to New-York. mericans lost many valuable men, and much of their fieffions by this incursion, but the cause for which they ntended was uninjured. Expeditions which feemed to we no higher object than the destruction of property, enated their affections still farther from British govern-They were not so extensive as to answer the ends conquest, and the momentary impression resulting om them, produced no lasting intimidation. her hand, they excited a spirit of revenge against the thors of fuch accumulated diffresses.

The year 1781 terminated, in all parts of the United ates, in favour of the Americans. It began with weakis in Carolina, mutiny in New-Jerfey, and devastation Virginia; nevertheless in its close, the British were offined to their strong holds in or near New-York, parleston and Savannah, and their whole army in Virginia was captured. They in the course of the year had quired much plunder by which individuals were enrichable to their nation was in no respect benefited. The hole campaign passed away on their part without one luable conquest, or the acquisition of any post or place, om which higher purposes were answered, than destroyg public stores or distressing individuals, and enriching a officers and privates of their army and navy. The portant services rendered by France to the Americans,

cemented the union of the two nations with additional ties. The orderly inoffensive behaviour of the French troops in the United States, contrasted with the have of property made by the British in their marches and excursions, was filently turning the current of popular el teem in favour of the former, and working a revolution in the minds of the inhabitants, greatly conducive to the establishment of that which had taken place in the go vernment. The property of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, received no damage of any account from the French troops, during their eleven months refidence mong them. The foldiers were rather a guard than nuisance: The citizens met with no interruption who profecuting their lawful bufiness, either by night or day and were treated with every mark of attention and to While the progress of the British army, in air cuitous march of 1100 miles from Charleston to Yorks town, was marked with rapine and desolation; the man of the French troops from Rhode-Island to the same place, a distance nearly equal in a right line, was pro ductive of no inconvenience to the intermediate inhab tants. They were welcome guests wherever they came for they took nothing by fraud or force, but punctual paid for all they wanted with hard money. In a could where the good will of the people had so powerful an in fluence on its final iffne, fuch opposite modes of condu could not fail of producing their natural effects. The moderation and justice of the French, met with its s ward in the general good will of the people, but the olence and rapine of the British, contributed among ther things, to work the final overthrow of all th schemes in America. Dennis Carrined.

On the last day of this year Henry Laurens was relativens 1781. Dec. 31. ed from his long confinement in the tower of London He had been committed there, as already related, on the of the of October 1780, "On suspicion of high treason after being examined in the presence of lord Stormon ponder lord George Germaine, lord Hillsborough, Mr. Chan Laure berlain, Mr. Justice Addington, and others. The commitment was accompanied with a warrant to the Lieux the formal contract the formal contract to the Lieux the contract to the Lieux the formal contract to the Lieux the contract the contract to the contract the contract the contract to the contract the contr

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nant of the tower to receive and confine him. Their 1781: tional lordhips orders were " To confine him a close prisoner; rench to be locked up every night; to be in the custody of two! havo warders; not to suffer him to be out of their fight one es and moment, day nor night; to allow him no liberty of fpeaker lar eling to any person, nor to permit any person to speak lution to him; to deprive him of the use of pen and ink; to to the fuffer no letter to be brought to him, nor any to go from he go him." Mr. Laurens was then fifty five years old, and fe-Rhode verely afflicted with the gout and other infirmities. In m th this fituation he was conducted to apartments in the towence a er, and was thut up in two fmall rooms which together. than made about twenty feet square, with a warder for his when constant companion, and a fixed bayonet under his winor day, dow, without any friend to converfe, with and without any and reprospect or even the means of correspondence. Being n a cirdebarred the use of pen and ink, he procured pencils, Yorkwhich proved an useful substitute. After month's cone march finement, he was permitted to walk out on Umited ground, ne fam but a warder with a fword in his hand followed close heas pro hind. This indulgence was occasionally taken for about inhabi three weeks, when lord George Gordon, who was also y came nctual a prisoner in the tower, unluckily met and asked Mr. Laurens to walk with him. Mr. Laurens declined the a conte offer and inftantly returned to his apartment. Covernor ul an i Gore caught at this transgression of orders, and locked condu s. T him up for 37 days, though the attending warder exh its n culpated him from all blame. At the end of that time the Governor relented fo far, as to permit his prisoner to t the T walk on the parade before the door, but this honor, as mong coming from him, was refused. General Vernon, on all th hearing of what had passed, gave orders that Mr. Lau-SUM IN as relatives should be permitted to walk out, and this exercise London was in consequence thereof resumed, after an intermission of two months and a half.

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treason. About this time an old friend and mercantile correstormon pondent, having folicited the Secretaries of State for Mr. Feb. 26, Chan Laurens' enlargement on parole, and having offered his the com whole fortune as fecurity for his good conduct, fent him the following message: "Their lordships say, if you will point

1781, point out any thing for the benefit of Great Britain, in the present dispute with the Colonies, you shall be en. larged." This proposition filled him with indignation, and provoked a sharp reply, part of which was in the following words: "I perceive from the message you fent me, that if I were a rascal I might presently get out of the tower, but I am not. You have pledged your word and fortune for my integrity. I will never dishonour you nor myself. I can foresee what will come to pass, happen to me what may. I fear no possible consequences."

Mar. 7.

The fame friend foon after vifited Mr. Laurens, and being left alone with him, addressed him as follows, "I converse with you this morning, not particularly as your friend, but as the friend of Great Britain. I have cerrain propositions to make, for obtaining your liberty which I advise you should take time to consider." Me Laurens defired to know what they were, and added "That an hourst man required no time to give an anfwer, in a case where his honor was concerned;" If," said he, "the Secretaries of State will enlarge me upon parole, I will strictly conform to my engagement to do nothing directly or indirectly to the hurt of this kingdom. I will return to America, or remain in any part of England which may be affigued, and furrender myfelf when demanded." It was answered " No, Sir, you must stay in Lordon among your friends: The ministers will often have occasion to fend for and confult you: You can write two or three lines to the ministers, and barely fay you are forry for what is past: A pardon will be granted: Ever man has been wrong, at some time or other of his life and should not be ashamed to acknowledge it." Mr Lau rens replied " I will never subscribe to my own infamy and to the dishonour of my children." He was then told of long and painful confinement, and hints were throw out of the possible consequences of his refusal: To which he replied "I am afraid of no confequences but fuch as would flow from dishonourable acts."

Mar. 14 In about a week after this interview, Major General James Grant, who had long been acquainted with Mr. How boy it will enill wol that I

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appl late f Laurens, and had ferved with him near twenty years be- 1781. fore, on an expedition against the Cherokee Indians, vified him in the tower, and talked much of the inconveniences of his fituation, and then addressed him thus. "Colonel Laurens, I have brought paper and pencil to take down any propositions you have to make to administration, and I will deliver them myself." Mr. Laurens replied, "I have pencil and paper, but not one proposition, beyond repeating a request to be enlarged on parole. I had well weighed what confequences might follow before I entered into the present dispute. I took the path of justice and honour, and no personal evils can cause me to thrink."

About this time Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens, be eldest son of Henry Laurens arrived in France, as the pecial minister of Congress. The father was requested to write to the fon to withdraw himself from the court of France, and affurances were given that it would ope-To these requests he replied, "my rate in his favour. on is of age, and has a will of his own; if I should write to him in the terms you request, it would have no ffect: He would only conclude, that confinement and ersuasion had softened me. I know him to be a man f honour: He loves me dearly, and would lay down is life to fave mine; but I am fure he would not facrice his honour to fave my life, and I applaud him."

Mr. Laurens penciled an address to the secretaries of June 29. tate for the use of pen and ink, to draw a bill of exhange on a merchant in London who was in his debt, or money to answer his immediate exigencies, and to equest that his youngest fon might be permitted to visit im, for the purpose of concerting a plan for his farther ducation and conduct in life. This was delivered otheir lordships; but they, though they had made no rovision for the support of their prisoner, returned no nswer. Mr. Laurens was thus left to languish in conbement under many infirmities, and without the means applying his own refources on the spot, for his immeate support.

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1781.

As foon as Mr. Laurens had completed a year in the tower, he was called upon to pay £9 7/10. fterling to the two warders for attending on him. To which he re plied, "I was fent to the tower by the fecretaries of State without money (for aught they knew) -- their lordships have never supplied me with any thing --- It is now upwards o three months fince I informed their lordships that the fund I had hitherto subsisted upon was nearly exhausted and prayed for leave to draw a bill on Mr. John Nun who was in my debt, which they have been pleafed to m fuse by the most grating of all denials a total filence and now a demand is made for fo 7/10. If their lord thips will permit me to draw for money where it is duen me, I will continue to pay my own expences, but I w not pay the warders whom I never employed, and while attendance I shall be glad to dispense with".

Three weeks after, the fecretaries of State confent that Mr. Laurens should have the use of pen and in for the purpose of drawing a bill of exchange, but the were taken away the moment that business was done

About this time Henry Laurens jud. wrote an humber request to lord Hillsborough for permission to see his ther, which his lordship refused to grant. He had suffift been permitted to visit his father, and converse within for a short time; but these interviews were no longer permitted. They nevertheless occasionally met out lines and saluted each other, but durst not exchange single word, less it might occasion a second confinement similar to that to which lord George Gordon had be accessary.

As the year 1781 drew near a close, Mr. Laurens's ferings in the tower became generally known, and exceed compassion in his favour, and odium against the author of his consinement. It had been also found by the institute of many attempts, that no concessions could be a tained from him. It was therefore resolved to relating, but difficulties arose about the mode. Mr. Laure would not consent to any act, which implied that he was British subject, and he had been committed as such, charge of high treason. Ministers to extricate themselves.

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om this difficulty, at length proposed to take bail for is appearance at the court of King's-Bench. When the ords of the recognizance, "Our Sovereign Lord the ing," were read to Mr. Laurens, he replied in open urt " Not my Sovereign," and with this declaration with Mr. Ofwald and Mr. Anderson as his securities, tered into an obligation for his appearance at the court King's-Bench the next Easter term, and for not dering thence without leave of the court. Thus ended long and a painful farce. Mr. Laurens was immediely released. When the time of his appearance at court ew near, he was not only discharged from all obligans to attend, but was requested by lord Shelburne to to the continent, in subserviency to a scheme for makg peace with America. Mr. Laurens, startled at the a of being released without any equivalent, as he had iformly held himself to be a prisoner of war, reed that "He durst not accept himself as a gift, d that as Congress had once offered Lieut. Gen. Buryne for him, he had no doubt of their now giving eut. Gen. Earl Cornwallis for the same purpose."

APPENDIX, No. III.

the treatment of prisoners, and of the distresses of the Inhabitants.

ANY circumstances concurred to make the American war particularly calamitous. It was ginally a civil war in the estimation of both parties, a rebellion to its termination, in the opinion of one of m. Unfortunately for mankind doubts have been crtained of the obligatory force of the law of nations fuch cases. The refinement of modern ages has strip= war of half its horrors, but the systems of some Laure peral men have tended to re-produce the barbarifm of at he w thic times, by withholding the benefits of that refinement m those who are effecting revolutions. An enlightened hemsel lanthropist embraces the whole human race and en-Vol. II, Nn



1775.

quires, not whether an object of diffress is or is not unit of an acknowledged nation. It is sufficient that is a child of the same common parent, and capable of happiness or misery. The prevalence of such a ten per would have greatly leffened the calamities the American war, but while from contracted police unfortunate captives were considered as not entitled the treatment of prisoners, they were often doomed will out being guilty, to fuffer the punishment due to crimin

The first American prisoners were taken on the of June 1775. These were thrown indiscriminately in the jail at Boston, without any consideration of their ra Aug 11. Gen. Washington wrote to Gen. Gage on this subjet

to which the fatter answered by afferting that the prison had been treated with care and kindness, though discriminately, " as he acknowledged no rank that not derived from the King." To which Gen. Washin ton replied "You affect, Sir, to despise all rank i derived from the fame fource with your own; I can conceive one more honorable, than that which flows for the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, purest source and original fountain of all power."

Gen. Carleton during his command conducted wards the American prisoners with a degree of hun nity, that reflected the greatest honor on his charact Before he commenced his operations on the lakes in 17 he shipped off those of them who were officers for No England, but previously supplied them with every the requisite to make their voyage comfortable. Theor prisoners, amounting to 800, were fent home by al after exacting an oath from them, not to ferve dun the war unlefs exchanged. Many of these being alm naked were comfortably cloathed by his orders, previous the fi to their being fent off.

The capture of Gen. Lee proved calamitous to see oth or ral individuals. Six Hessian field officers were offer een see in exchange for him, but this was refused. It was that in the Prince of the capture of Gen. Lee proved calamitous to see other or refused. By the British, that Lee was a deserter from their servent to and as such could not expect the indulgences usually awho ton to prisoners of war. The Americans replied, that

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ed, that

e had refigned his British commission previously to his 1781. ccepting one from the Americans, he could not be condered as a deserter. He was nevertheless confined, atched, and guarded. Congress thereupon resolved, hat Gen. Washington be directed to inform Gen. Howe, hat should the proffered exchange of Gen. Lee for fix field officers not be accepted, and the treatment of him above mentioned be continued, the principles of realiation should occasion five of the said Hessian field ficers, together with Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell to be etained, in order that the faid treatment which Gen. Lee eceived, should be exactly inflicted on their persons." he Campbell thus designated as the subject of retaliation, as a humane man, and a meritorious officer, who had een captured by some of the Massachusett's privateers ear Boston, to which, from the want of information, he as proceeding foon after the British had evacuated it. The above act of Congress was forwarded to Massachusetts with a request that they would detain Lt. Col. Campbell' nd keep him in safe custody till the further order of Congress. The council of Massachusett's exceeded this equest, and fent him to Concord jail, where he was lodged n a gloomy dungeon of twelve or thirteen feet square. The attendance of a fingle fervant on his person was deied him, and every visit from a friend refused.

The prisoners captured by Sir William Howe in 1776, mounted to many hundreds. The officers were admited to parole, and had some waste houses assigned to hem as quarters; but the privates were shut up in the oldest season of the year in churches, sugar houses, and uch like large open buildings. The feverity of the weaher, and the rigor of their treatment, occasioned the eath of many hundreds of these unfortunate men. the filth of the places of their confinement, in confevence of fluxes which prevailed among them, was is to le of offensive and dangerous. Seven dead bodies have tre offer een seen in one building, at one time, and all lying in a st was stuation shocking to humanity. The provisions served air served to them were desicient in quantity, and of an nwholfome quality. These suffering prisoners were generally

generally pressed to enter into the British fervice, but hundreds fubmitted to death, rather than procure a me lioration of their circumstances by enlisting with the en mies of their country. After Gen. Washington's fur. ceffes at Trenton and Princeton, the American prisoner fared fomewhat better. Those who survived were on dered to be fent out for exchange, but fome of them fel down dead in the streets, while attempting to walk the veffels. Others were fo emaciated that their appear ance was horrible. A speedy death closed the see with many.

Dec. 1. 1777:

The American board of war, after conferring with Mr. Boudinot the commissary-general of prisoners, and examining evidences produced by him, reported among other things, "That there were goo privates and to officers of the American army, prisoners in the cine New-York, and about 500 privates and 50 officers prifone in Philadelphia. That fince the beginning of October 1 these prisoners, both officers and privates, had been con fined in prison ships or the Provost: That from the be evidence the subject could admit of, the general allow ance of prisoners, at most did not exceed four ounces meat per day, and often fo damaged as not to be eatable That it had been a common practice with the British, a prisoner's being first captured, to keep him three, for or five days without a morfel of meat, and then to tem him to enlift to fave his life: That there were numero instances of prisoners of war, perishing in all the agon of hunger."

Dec.24. About this time there was a meeting of merchants 1777. London, for the purpose of raising a sum of money relieve the distresses of the American prisoners, then England. The fum subscribed for that purpose amount ed in two months to £4647 15s. Thus while huma nature was dishonoured by the cruelties of some of the British in America, there was a laudable display of the benevolence of others of the fame nation in Europe The American failors, when captured by the British, ful fered more than even the foldiers, which fell into the hands. The former were confined on board prison this The

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tle o who fide They were there crouded together in such numbers, and their accommodations were so wretched, that diseases broke out and swept them off in a manner, that was sufficient to excite compassion in breasts of the least sensibility. It has been afferted, on as good evidence as the case will admit, that in the last six years of the war upwards of eleven thousand persons died on board the Jersey, one of these prison ships, which was stationed in east river near New-York. On many of these, the rights of sepulture were never, or but very imperfectly conferred. For some time after the war was ended, their bones lay whitening in the sun, on the shores of Long-Island.

The operations of treason laws added to the calamities of the war. Individuals on both fides, while they were doing no more than they supposed to be their duty, were involved in the penal consequences of capital crimes. The Americans in conformity to the usual policy of nations, demanded the allegiance of all who refided among them, but several of these preferred the late royal government and were disposed, when opportunity offered, While they acted in conformity to thefe to support it. fentiments, the laws enacted for the security of the new government, condemned them to death. Hard is the jot of a people involved in civil war; for in such circumstances the lives of individuals may not only be legally forfeited, but justly taken from those, who have acted folcly from a sense of duty. It is to be wished that some more rational mode than war might be adopted for deciding national contentions; but of all wars, those which are called civil are most to be dreaded. They are attended with the bitterest resentments, and produce the greatest quantity of human woes. In the American war, the distresses of the country were aggravated, from the circumstance that every man was obliged, some way or other, to be in the public service. In Europe, where military operations are carried on by armies hired and paid for the purpose, the common people partake but little of the calamities of war: but in America, where the whole people were enrolled as a militia, and where both fides endeavoured to strengthen themselves by oaths and

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by laws, denouncing the penalties of treason on those who aided or abetted the opposite party, the sufferings of individuals were renewed, as often as fortune varied her standard. Each side claimed the co-operation of the inhabitants, and was ready to punish when it was withheld. Where either party had a decided superiority the common people were comparatively undisturbed; but the interme. diate space between the contending armies, was subject to

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In the first institution of the American government, the boundaries of authority were not properly fixed Committees exercifed legislative, executive and judicial powers. It is not to be doubted, that in many instance these were improperly used, and that private resentment were often covered under the specious veil of patriotifa The fufferers in passing over to the royalists, carried will them a keen remembrance of the vengeance of committees, and when opportunity presented, were temptal to retaliate. From the nature of the case, the original offenders were less frequently the objects of retaliation than those who were entirely innocent. One instance of feverity begat another, and they continued to encrease in a proportion that doubled the evils of common war. From one unadvised step, individuals were often involved in the loss of all their property. Some from present ap pearances, apprehending that the British would finally conquer, repaired to their standard. Their return after the partial from which intimidated them to submiffion had blown over, was always difficult and often impossible From this fingle error in judgement, fuch were often obliged to feek fafety by continuing to support the interest of those to whom, in an hour of temptation, they had devoted themselves. The embarrassments on both sides were often so great, that many in the humbler walks of life, could not tell what course was best to pursue. It was happy for those who having made up their minds on the nature of the contest, invariably followed the dictates politics of their consciences, for in every instance they enjoyed cumst self approbation. Though they could not be deprived party of this reward, they were not always successful in saving of the their vailed

They who varied with the times, in like heir property. manner often missed their object, for to such it frequently happened that they were plundered by boon, and lost the fleem of all. A few faved their credit and their property; but of these, there was not one for every hundred of those, who were materially injured either in the one or he other. The American whigs were exasperated against hofe of their fellow citizens who joined their enemies, with a refentment which was far more bitter, than that which they harboured against their European adversaries. feeling that the whole strength of the states was scarcely fufficient to protect them against the British, they could ot brook the defertion of their countrymen to invading oreigners. They feldom would give them credit for Ging from principle, but generally supposed them to be nfluenced either by cowardice or interest, and were thereore inclined to proceed against them with rigor. were filled with indignation at the idea of fighting for he property of fuch as had deferted their country, and tere therefore clamorous, that it should be seized or public service. The royalists raised the cry of perseution and loudly complained that merely for supporting he government, under which they were born, and to which they owed a natural allegiance, they were doomed o fuffer all the penalties due to capital offenders. Those of them who acted from principle felt no consciousness of guilt, and could not look but with abhorrence upon government, which inflicted fuch fevere punishments on what they deemed a laudable line of conduct. Humaniy would shudden at a particular recital of the calamities which the whigs inflicted on the tories, and the tories on the whigs. It is particularly remarkable that on both ides, they for the most part confoled themselves with the dictates political innocence and guilt, changes fo much with circuing party that the innocence of the sufferer, and of the leprived party that punishes, are often compatible. The distresses of the American prisoners in the southern states, pretheir vailed particularly towards the close of the war. Colonel Campbell

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1781.

Campbell, who reduced Savannah, though he had perfonally suffered from the Americans, treated all who fell into his hands with humanity. Those who were taken at Savannah and at Ashe's defeat, suffered very much from his fuccessors in South-Carolina. The America prisoners with a few exceptions, had but little to complain of till after Gates' defeat. Soon after that event, funda of them, though entitled to the benefits of the capitulation on of Charleston, were separated from their families and fent into exile; others in violation of the same solem agreement were crouded into prison thips, and deprive of the use of their property. When a general exchange of prisoners was effected, the wives and children of thole inhabitants who adhered to the Americans, were exile from their homes to Virginia and Philadelphia. wards of one thousand persons were thrown upon charity of their fellow citizens in the more northern flam This severe treatment was the occasion of retaliating of the families of those who had taken part with the Britis In the first months of the year 1781, the British were force in the remotest settlements of South-Carolina, bu as their limits were contracted in the course of the year, the male inhabitants who joined them, thought proper to retire with the royal army towards the capital. liation for the expulsion of the wives and children of the whig Americans from the state, Governor Rutledge or dered the brigadiers of militia, to fend within the Brid lines, the families of such of the inhabitants as adhere to their interest. In confequence of this order, and mon especially in consequence of the one which occasioned feveral hundreds of helpless women and children wen reduced to great diffress:

The refugees who had fled to New-York, were formed into an affociation under Sir Henry Clinton, for the purposes of retaliating on the Americans, and for reinbursing the losses they had sustained from their countrymen. The depredations they committed in their several excursions would fill a volume, and would answer limburpose but to excite compassion and horror. Toward the close of the war, they began to retaliate on a bold

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ale. Captain Joshua Huddy who commanded a small irty of Americans at a block house, in Monmouth ounty New-Jersey was, after a gallant relistance, taken moner by a party of these refugees. He was brought New-York and there kept in close custody fifteen days, then told "that he was ordered to be hanged." Four vs after, he was fent out with a party of refugees, and nged on the highths of Middleton. The following label s affixed to his breast "We the refugees having long th grief beheld the cruel murders of our brethren, and ding nothing but fuch measures daily carrying into exetion; we therefore determine not to fuffer without taking ngeance for the numerous cruelties, and thus begin, and we made use of Capt. Huddy as the first object to present your view, and further determine to hang man for man, ile there is a refugee existing: Up goes Huddy for ilip White." The Philip White in retaliation for whom addy was hanged, had been taken by a party of the rley militia, and was killed in attempting to make his

Gen. Washington resolved on retaliation for this deerate murder, but instead of immediately executing a tilh officer he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, that unless murderers of Huddy were given up, he should be der the necessity of retaliating. The former being reed, Capt. Asgill was designated by lot for that purpose. the mean time the British instituted a court martial the trial of Capt. Lippencutt, who was supposed to the principal agent, in executing Capt. Huddy. peared in the course of this trial that Gov. Franklin, President of the board of affociated loyalists, gave pencutt verbal orders for what he did, and that he been defignated as a proper subject for retaliation, ing been, as the refugees stated, a persecutor of the alists, and particularly as having been instrumental in ging Stephen Edwards, who had been one of that cription. The court having confidered the whole ter gave their opinion "That as what Lippencutt was not the effect of malice or ill will, but proceedfrom a conviction that it was his duty to obey the or-VOL. II.

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ders of the board of directors of affociated loyalifts, and as he did not doubt their having full authority to give fuch orders, he was not guilty of the murder laid to his charge, and therefore they acquitted him." Sir Gu Carleton, who a little before this time had been appoint ed commander in chief of the British army, in a letter Gen. Washington, accompanying the tryal of Lippencus declared "that notwithstanding the acquittal of Lippen cutt, he reprobated the measure, and gave affurances profecuting a farther enquiry." Sir Guy Carleton about the same time, broke up the board of affociated loyaling which prevented a repetition of similar excesses. The war also drawing near a close, the motives for retaliation as tending to prevent other murders, in a great mealing ceased. In the mean time Gen. Washington received letter from the Count de Vergenes interceding for an Afgill, which was also accompanied with a very pather

Nov. 7. one, from his mother Mrs. Afgill to the Count. Cope 1782. of these several letters were forwarded to Congress, an soon after they resolved, "that the commander in the be directed to set Capt. Afgill at liberty." The lovers humanity rejoiced that the necessity for retaliation we superseded, by the known humanity of the new commander in chief, and still more by the well founded prosper of a speedy peace. Asgill who had received every industrial.

gence, and who had been treated with all possible politened was released and permitted to go into New-York.

C H A P. XXVI.

Campaign of 1782. Foreign events and negotiation Peace 1782.

AFTER the capture of lord Cornwallis, General Washington, with the greatest part of his for returned to the vicinity of New-York. He was in a condition to attempt the reduction of that post, and the royal army had good reasons for not urging hostilities without their lines. An obstruction of the communitation between town and country, some indecisive skirmish

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and prædatory excursions, were the principal evidences of 1782. an existing state of war. This in a great measure was al-6 the case in South-Carolina. From December 1781, General Greene had possession of all the state except Charleston and the vicinity. The British sometimes salied out of their lines for the acquisition of property and providions, but never for the purposes of con- Aug 27. mest. In opposing one of these near Combahee Lieu- 1782. enant Colonel John Laurens, an accomplished officer f uncommon merit, was mortally wounded. ad adorned him with a large proportion of her hoicest gifts, and these were highly cultivatedby n elegant, useful and practical education. tilm was of the most ardent kind. The moment e was of age, he broke off from the amusements f London, and on his arrival in America, instantly oined the army. Wherever the war raged most, there was e to be found. A dauntless bravery was the least of his irtues, and an excess of it his greatest foible. His varius talents fitted him to thine in courts or camps, or poular affemblies. He had a heart to conceive, a head to ontrive, a tongue to perfuade, and a hand to execute themes of the most extensive utility to his country, or ather to mankind, for his enlarged philanthropy knowng no bounds, embraced the whole human race. xcellent young man, who was the pride of his country, he idol of the army, and an ornament of human nature, of his life in the 27th year of his age, in an unimportant firmish with a foraging party, in the very last moments f the war.

At the commencement of the year 1782, the Brithe had more extensive range in Georgia, than in by other of the United States, but of this they were foon Gener bridged. From the unsuccessful iffue of the affault on his for avannah in 1779, that State had a inently suffered the as in a esolations of war. Political hatred raged to such a deard the ree that the blood of its citizens was daily shed by the sostilities and of each other, contending under the names of munits higs and tories. A few of the friends of the revolution in kept together in the western settlements, and exercise the powers of independent government. The whole

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alternate ravages of both parties. After the furrender of lord Cornwallis, General Greene being reinforced by the Pennsylvania line, was enabled to detach General Wayne with a part of the fouthern army to Georgia General Clarke who commanded in Savannah, on hearing of their advance, sent orders to his officers in the out posts, to burn as far as they could, all the provisions in the country, and then to retire within the lines at the capital. The country being evacuated by the British the Governor came with his council from Augusta and Ebenezer, and re-established government in the vicinity of the country of the c

May 21. the fea coaft.

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Colonel Brown at the head of a confiderable force marched out of the garrison of Savannah, with the apparent intention of attacking the Americans. General Wayne by a bold manœuvre got in his rear, attacked him at 12 o'clock at night, and couted his whole party. I large number of Creek Indians, headed by a number their chiefs and a British officer, made a furious attack on Wayne's infantry in the night. For a few minute they possessed themselves of his field pieces, but they wer foon recovered. In the mean time Colonel White will a party of the cavalry came up, and preffed hard upon them Both fides engaged in close quarters. The Indians displayed uncommon bravery, but were at length completely routed Shortly after this affair, a period was put to the calamite of war, in that ravaged state. In about three months also the capture of lord Cornwallis was known in Great Britain, the parliament resolved to abandon all offensi operations in America. In consequence thereof, even idea of conquest being given up, arrrangements we made for withdrawing the royal forces from Georgia

South-Carolina. Peace was restored to Georgia, and it had been upwards of three years in possession of the

British, and had been ravaged nearly from one extrem

July 11.

war, one thousand of its citizens, besides four thousand street about five months after the British left Georgian Market and the British left and the British left Georgian Market and the British l

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they in like manner withdrew their force, from South-Carolina. The inhabitants of Charleston, who had remained therein, while it was possessed by the British, felt themselves happy in being delivered from the severities of a garrison life. The exiled citizens collected from all quarters and took possession of their estates. Thus in less than three years from the landing of the British in South-Carolina, they withdrew all their forces from it. In that time the citizens had fuffered an accumulation of evils. There was scarcely an inhabitant however obscure in character, or remote in fituation, whether he remained firm to one party or changed with the times, who did not partake of the general diffrefs, and maintenance and districtions with

In modern Europe the revolutions of public affairs feldom disturb the humble obscurity of private life, but the American revolution involved the interest of every family, and deeply affected the fortunes and happiness of almost every individual in the United States. South-Carolina loft a great number of its citizens, and upwards of 20,000 of its flaves. Property was sported with by both parties. Besides those who fell in battle or died of diseases brought on by the war, many were inhumanly murdered by private affaffinations. The country abounded with widows and orphans. The feverities of a military life co-operating with the climate, destroyed the healths and lives of many hundreds of the invading army. Excepting those who enriched themselves by plunder, and a few fuccessful speculators, no private advantage was gained by individuals on either fide, but an experimental conviction of the folly and madness of war.

Though in the year 1782 the United States afforded few great events, the reverse was the case with the other powers involved in the consequences of the American war.

Minorca after a tedious fiege furrendered to the Duke Feb. 5. de Crillon in the service of his most Catholic Majesty. About the same time the settlements of Demarara and Effequibo, which in the preceding year had been taken by the British, were taken from them by the French. The gallant Marquis de Bouille added to the splendor of his former fame by reducing St. Eustatia and St. Kitts, the former

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at the close of the year 1781, and the latter early in the year 1782. The islands of Nevis and Monserrat follow, ed the fortune of St. Kitts. The French at this period seemed to be established in the West-Indies, on a firm foundation. Their islands were full of excellent troops, and their marine force was truly respectable. The exertions of Spain were also uncommonly great. The strength of these two monarchies had never before been so conspicuously displayed, in that quarter of the globe. Their combined navies amounted to threescore ships of the line, and these were attended with a prodigious multitude of frigates and armed vessels. With this immense force they entertained hopes of wresting from his Britannic Majesty a great part of his West-India islands.

In the mean time, the British ministry prepared a strong squadron, for the protection of their possessions in that quarter. This was commanded by Admiral Rodney and amounted, after a junction with Sir Samuel Hood's squadron, and the arrival of three ships from Great Britain, to 36 sail of the line.

It was the design of Count de Grasse, who commanded the French sleet at Martinque amounting to 34 sail of the line, to proceed to Hispaniola and join the Spanish Admiral Don Solano, who with sixteen ships of the line and a considerable land force was waiting for his arrival, and to make in concert with him an attack on Jamaica.

Apr. 8. Admiral Rodney came up with Count de Graffe, foon after he had fet out to join the Spanish fleet at Hispaniola. Partial engagements took place on the three first days, after they came near to each other. In these, two of the French ships were so badly damaged, that they were Apr 12. obliged to quit the fleet. On the next day a general en-

obliged to quit the fleet. On the next day a general engagement took place: This began at feven in the morning, and continued till past six in the evening. There was no apparent superiority on either side till between twelve and one o'clock, when Admiral Rodney broke the French line of battle, by bearing down upon their centre, and

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penetrating through it. The land forces, destined for 1712. the expedition against Jamaica, amounting to 5500 men, were distributed on board the French sleet. Their ships were therefore so crouded, that the slaughter on board was prodigious. The battle was fought on both fides with equal spirit, but with a very unequal iffue. The French for near a century, had not in any naval engagement been to completely worsted. Their fleet was little less than ruined. Upwards of 400 men were killed on board one of their ships, and the whole number of their killed and wounded amounted to feveral thoufands, while the loss of the British did not much exceed 1100 men. The French lost in this action, and the subsequent pursuit, eight ships of the line. On board the aptured thips, was the whole train of artillery, with the attering cannon and travelling carriages, intended for he expedition against Jamaica. One of them was the Ville de Paris, fo called from the city of Paris, having milt her at its own expence, and made a present of her to he King. She had cost four millions of livres, and was freemed the most magnificent ship in France; she carried 10 guns and had on board 1300 men. This was truly n unfortunate day to Count de Graffe. Though his chaviour throughout the whole action was firm and inrepid, and his resistance continued till he and two more ere the only men left standing upon the upper deck, he as at last obliged to strike. It was no small addition to is misfortunes that he was on the point of forming a inction, which would have fet him above all danger. ad this taken place, the whole British naval power in e West-Indies, on principles of ordinary calculation, ould have been infufficient to have prevented him from irrying into effect, schemes of the most extensive confeuence.

The ships of the defeated fleet fled in a variety of dictions. Twenty three or twenty four fail made the It of their way to Cape François. This was all that mained in a body of that fleet, which was lately for rmidable. By this fignal victory, the defigns of France d Spain were frustrated. No farther enterprises were

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1782. undentaken against the fleets or possessions of Great Bis tain in the West-Indies, and fuch measures only were en braced, as feemed equifite for the perpofes of fafety. While the news of Admiral Rodney's victory reached Green Britain, a general joy was diffused over the nation. Bi fore there had been much despondency. Their loffes in the Chefapeak and in the West-Indies, together with the increasing number of their enemies, had depressed the spirits of the great body of the people; but the advantages gained on the 12th of April, placed them on high ground, either for ending or profecuting the war. was fortunate for the Americans, that this fuecess of the British was posterior to their loss in Virginia. It fo ele vated the spirits of Britain, and so depressed the hopes of France, that had it taken place prior to the furrender of lord Cornwallis, that event would have been less influent al in disposing the nation to peace. As the catastrophe of York-Town closed the national war in North-Ame rica, to the defeat of de Graffe, in a great measure, put

> a period to hostilities in the West-Indies. Thing a min Other decifive events foon followed, which diffold another of the belligerent powers to a pacification Gibraltar though successively relieved, still continued to be besieged. The reduction of Minorca inspired the Spare hish nation with fresh motives to perseverance. The Duke de Crillon, who had been recently successfubin the siege of Minorca, was appointed to conduct the fiege of Gibraltar, and it was refolved to employ the whole frength of the Spanish monarchy in seconding his operations No means were neglected, nor expence spared, that promifed to forward the views of the beflegers. From the failure of all plans, hitherto adopted for effecting the reduction of Gibraltar, it was reloved to adopt new ones. Among the various projects for this purpose, one which had been formed by the Chevalier D'Arcon, was deemed the most worthy of trial. This was to construct fuch floating batteries as could neither be funk inor fired. With this view their bottoms were made of the thickell timber, and their fides of wood and corle long foaked in water, with a large layer of wet fand between illinge

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To prevent the effects of red hot balls, a number of pes were contrived to carry water through every part them, and pumps were provided to keep these containly supplied with water. The people on board were be theltered from the fall of bombs by a cover of rope ming, which was made sloping and overlaid with wet des.

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These floating batteries, ten in number, were made out the hulls of large vessels, cut down for the purpose, id carried from 28 to sen guns each, and were second-by 80 large boats mounted with guns of heavy metal, id also by a multitude of frigates, ships of force, and me hundreds of small crast.

General Elliott the intrepid defender of Gibraltar, was et ignorant that inventions of a peculiar kind were epared against him, but knew nothing of their conmelion. He nevertheless provided for every circumnce of danger that could be foreseen or imagined. The th day of Sept. was fixed upon by the befiegers for sking a grand attack, when the new invented machines, th all the united powers of gunpowder and artillery in eir highest state of improvement, were to be called into The combined fleets of France and Spain in the y of Gibraltar amounted to 48 fail of the line. Their meries were covered with 154 pieces of heavy brafs mon. The numbers employed by land and fea against e fortress were estimated at one hundred thousand men. ith this force and by the fire of 300 cannon, mortars, d howitzers, from the adjacent isthmus, it was intend to attack every part of the British works at one and the me instant. The furrounding hills were covered with ople affembled to behold the spectacle. The canonade d bombardment was tremendous. The showers of ot and shells from the land batteries, and the ships of e beliegers, and from the various works of the garrison, hibited a most dreadful scene. Four hundred pieces the heaviest artillery were playing at the fame moment. he whole Peninsula seemed to be overwhelmed in the trents of fire, which were inceffantly poured upon it. he Spanish floating batteries for some time answered VOL. II. the

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1782. the expectations of their framers of The theavielt and often rebounded from their tops, while thirty two pour frot, made no visible impression upon their bulls al fome hours, the attack and defence were fo equally for ported, as fearcely to admit any appearance of tuperin ty on either fide. The confirmation of the battering & was fo well calculated, for withflanding the combin force of fire and artillery, that they feemed for fome to bid defiance to the powers of the heaviest orday In the afternoon the effects of hot that became vill At first there was only an appearance of smoke, but the course of the night, after the fire of the garrison continued about 15 hours, two of the floating barn were in flames, and feveral more were vifibly begin to kindle. The endeavors of the befiggers were now clusively directed to bring off the men from the burn veffels, but in this they were interrupted. Captain (eis who lay ready with 12 gun boats, advanced and upon them with fuch order and expedition, as to the them into confusion before they had finished their busin They fled with their boats, and abandoned to their great numbers of their people. The opening of day disclosed a most dreadful spectacle. Many were les the midst of the flames crying out for help, while ou were floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to danger from the opposite element. The generous ha nity of the victors equalled their valor, and was the m honorable, as the exertions of it exposed them to not danger than those of active hostility. In endeavoring fave the lives of his enemies, Capt. Curtis nearly lost own. While for the most benevolent purpose, het along fide the floating batteries one of them blew and some heavy pieces of timber fell into his boat, pierced through its bottom. By fimilar perilous a tions, near 400 men were faved from inevitable della tion. The exercise of humanity to an enemy, we fuch circumstances of immediate action, and impend danger, conferred more true honor than could be acq ed by the most splendid series of victories. It into degree obscured the impression made to the disadvan

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of human wature, by the madness of mankind in destroy- 1782. ing each other by wasteful wars. The floating batteries were all confirmed. The violence of their explosion was fuch, as to burst open doors, and windows at a great difrance. Soon after the defiruction of the floating batterford Howe with 35 thips of the line, brought to the mive garrifon an ample supply of every thing wanted, ther for their support or their defence. This complete eller of Gibraltar, was the third decifive event in the outle of a twelve month, which favoured the re-establishment of a general peace. Sound sound so surous has

The capture of the British army in Virginia -- the deear of Count de Graffe, and the destruction of the Spaish floating batteries, inculcated on Great Britain, France nd Spain, the policy of fleathing the fword, and floping the effusion of human blood. Each nation found on a review of past events, that though their losses were reat, their gains were little or nothing. By urging the American war, Great Britain had encreased her nationdebt one hundred millions of pounds sterling, and raffed the lives of at least 50,000 of her subjects. To add to her mortification the had brought all this on erfelf, by purfuing an object the attainment of which comed to be daily less probable, and the benefits of which, even though it could have been attained, were ery problematical. While Great Britain, France and pain were fucceffively brought to think favourably of reace, the United States of America had the confolation f a public acknowledgment of their independence, by a econd power of Europe. This was effected in a great neasure by the address of John Adams. On the capture of Jan. 1, Henry Laurens, he had been commissioned to be the mi- 1781. lifter plenipotentiary of Congress, to the States General of the United Provinces, and was also empowered to neociate a toan of money among the Hollanders. Soon Apr. 19 fter his arrival he presented to their High Mightinesses a 1781. nemorial, in which he informed them that the United tates of America, had thought fit to fend him a commillion with full power and instructions, to confer with hem concerning a treaty of amity and commerce, and

that.

1782. that they had appointed him to be their Minister Plat potentiary to refide near them. Similar information was at the same time communicated to the Statholithe Prince of Grange mort abase at man Astronib . ale

Apr. 23 About a year after the prefentation of this memorial 1782. it was resolved "that the faid Mr. Adams was agreed to their High Mightineffes, and that he should be knowledged in quality of Minister Plenipotentiary? fore this was obtained much pains had been taken a much ingenuity had been excreed, to convince the rule and people of the States General, that they had an int reft in connecting themselves with the United State These representations, together with some recent fuccess in their contests on the fea with Great Britain, and the evident commercial interest, encouraged them so venue on being the second power of Europe, to acknowledge

> Mr. Adams having gained this point, proceeded on h negociation of a treaty of amity and commerce between the two countries. This was in a few months concluded to the reciprocal fatisfaction of both parties. The fan fuccess which attended Mr. Adams in these negociation continued to follow him in obtaining a loan of mone which was a most seasonable supply to his almost o hausted country. And the form the besturalist

> Mr. Jay had for nearly three years past exerted equ abilines, and equal industry with Mr. Adams, in a deavouring to negociate a treaty between the Unit States and his most Catholie Majesty, but his exercion were not crowned with equal fuccessor to ynautions

To gain the friendhip of the Spaniards Congre paffed foodry refolutions, favouring the wifnes of most Catholic Majesty to re-annex the two Floridas to dominions. Mr Jay was infrudted to contend ford and hight of the United States to the free navigation of river Millistippi, and if an express acknowledgement it could not be obtained, he was reftrained from ace ing to any fripulation, by which it fhould be relinquish But in February 1781, when lord Cornwallis was make rapid progress in overrunning the southern States,

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when the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line and other unfavourable circumstances depressed the spirits vof the Americans, Congress, on the recommendation of Virginia, directed him to recede from his instructions, for far as they infilt on the free navigation of that part of the niver Miffiffippi, which hes below the thirty first degree of North Latitude, and on a free port or ports below the fames provided fuch ceffion should be unalterably infifted on by Spain, and provided the free navigation of the faid river above the faid degree of North Latitude should be acknowledged and guarantied by his Catholic Majesty, in common with his own subjects.

These propositions were made to the ministers of his Sep. 224 most Catholic Majesty, but not accepted. Mr Jay in his own name informed them "That if the acceptance of this offer bould, together with the proposed alliance, be postponed to a general peace, the United States would cease to consider themselves bound by any propositions or

offers he might then make in their behalf."

Spain having delayed to accept of these terms, which originated more in necessity than in policy, till the crisis of American independence was past, Congress apprehensive that their offered relinquishment of the free navigation of the Milliflippi should at that late hour be accepted, infructed their minister "To forbear making any over- Aug. 7, tures to the court of Spain, or entering into any Ripulations, in consequence of any which he had previously made." The ministers of his most Catholic Majesty, from indecition and tardiness of deliberation; let flip an opportunity of gaining a fovourite point, which from the increasing numbers of the western settlements of the United States, feems to be removed at a daily increasing distance. Humiliating offers, made and rejected in the hour of diffress, will not readily be renewed in the day of prosperity.

Mines expected not only by the fanguine Americans. by many in England, that the capture of ford Cornwallis would instantly dispose the nation to peace; but hatever might have been the wish or the interest of the

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people, the American was was too much the favouried ministry to be relinquished, without a struggle for its continuance.

Nov. 27 York-Town, the King of Great Britain, in his speech in Parliament, declared That he should not answer the trust committed to the sovereign of a free people, if he consented to facrifice either to his own desire of peace, of to their temporary case and relief, those effectial right and permanent interests, upon the maintenance and preservation of which the future strength and security of the country must forever depend. The determined language of this speech, pointing to the continuance of the American war, was echoed back by a majority of both Lords and Commons.

Dec. 12. In a few days after, it was moved in the house of commons that a resolution should be adopted declaring it is be their opinion. That all farther attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force would be ineffectual, and injurious to the true interests of Great Britain. Though the debate on this subject was continued till two o'clock in the morning, and though the opposition received at

Jan. 4. same ground of argument was soon gone over again, and the American war underwent, for the fourth time sind the beginning of the session, a full discussion, but now solution, disapproving its farther prosecution, could read obtain the assent of a majority of the members. The advocates for peace becoming daily more numerous,

Feb. 22. was moved by Gen. Conway "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be pleased to give directions to his ministers not to pursue any long the impracticable object of reducing his Majesty's revoled colonies by force to their allegiance, by a war on the continent of America." This brought forth a repetition of the former arguments on the subject, and engaged the attention of the house till two o'clock in the morning On a division, the motion for the address was lost by single vote. In the course of these debates, while it minority were gaining ground, the ministry were given

1782.

no one point after another. They at first confented that the war found not be carried on to the fame extent as formerly--- then that there should be no internal contipental war -- next that there should be no other war than what was necessary for the defence of the posts already in their possession --- and last of all, none but against the French in America.

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The ministry as well as the nation began to be fensible of the impolicy of continental operations, but hoped that they might gain their point, by profecuting hostilities at fea. Every opposition was therefore made by them eainst the total direliction of a war, on the success of which they had so repeatedly pledged themselves, and on the continuance of which they held their places. General Conway in five days after, brought forward another Feb. 27 motion expressed in different words, but to the same effeet with that which he had loft by a fingle vote. This caused a long debate which lasted till two o'clock in the norning. It was then moved to adjourn the debate till he 13th of March. There appeared for the adjournment 215, and against it 234. To momnia to suit of

The original motion, and an address to the king formed pon the resolution were then carried without a division, and the address was ordered to be presented by the whole honfe

To this his majesty answered, "that in pursuance of heir advice, he would take fuch measures as should appear whim the most conducive to the restoration of harmony, between Great Britain and the revolted colonies." The hanks of the house were voted for this answer. But he guarded language thereof, not inconsistent with farher hostilities against America; together with other uspicious circumstances, induced General Conway to move another resolution, expressed in the most decisive anguage. This was to the following effect. "That the oule would consider as enemies to his majesty and the ountry, all those who should advise or by any means atempt the further profecution of offensive war, on the be continent of North-America, for the purpose of reucing the colonies to obedience by force." This moti-

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and put a period to all that chicanery by which me nisters meant to distinguish between a profecution of of fenfive war in North-America, and a total direliction of it. This resolution and the preceding address, to which it had reference, may be confidered as the cloting fcene of the American war. As it was made a parliamentary war. by an address from parliament for its profecution in Fe. bruary 1775. It now was no longer fo, by an address from the most numerous house of the same parliament in February 1782, for its discontinuance. A change of miniftry was the confequence of this total change of the political fystem which, for feven years, had directed the al fairs of Great Britain. A new administration wa formed under the auspices of the Marquis of Rock ingham, and was composed of characters who opposed the American war. It has been faid that the new minis ter stipulated with the court before he entered into office that there should be peace with the Americans, and that the acknowledgement of their independence should not be a bar to the attainment of it. Soon after the Marqui of Rockingham, on whom Great Britain relied with well placed confidence, for extrication from furrounding embarrassments departed this life, and his much lamente death, for some time obscured the agreeable prospecti which had lately begun to dawn on the nation. On the decease of the noble Marquis, Earl Shelburne was appoint ed his fuccessor. To remove constitutional impediment to negociate with the late British colonies, an act of parliament was passed, granting to the crown powers for negotiating or concluding a general or particular peace of truce with the whole, or with any part of the colonia and for setting aside all former laws, whose operation where in controvention to that purpose.

Sir Guy Carleton, who was lately appointed to the command of the royal army in North-America, was instructed to use his endeavours for carrying into effect the wishes of Great-Britain, for an accommodation with the Americans.

May, Americans. He therefore dispatched a letter to General 1782. Washington, informing him of the late proceedings of parliamen

1782.

minment, and of the dispositions so favourable to Ameica, which were prevalent in Great Britain, and at the metime folicited a paffport for his fecretary, Mr. Moron to pay a vifit to Congress. His request was refused. he application for it, with its concomitant circumstances ere confidered as introductory to a scheme for opening gotiations with Congress or the states, without the conprence of their allies. This caufed no small alarm d gave rife to fundry resolutions, by which several nes declared, that a proposition from the enemy to all any of the United States for peace or truce, separate on their allies was inadmiffible. Congress nor long afresolved "that they would not enter into the disenssion any overtures for pacification, but in confidence and concert with his most Christian Majesty, and as a proof this, they recommended to the feveral States to pass s, that no subject of his Britannic Majesty coming directly indirectly from any part of the British dominions, be mitted into any of the United States duting the war." s decifive conduct extinguished all hopes that Great tain might have entertained, of making a feparate peace th America. Two of the first sovereigns of Europe, the press of Russia, and the Emperor of Germany, were mediators in accomplishing the great work of peace. th was the state of the contending parties, that the ercellion of powerful mediators was no longer neces-The disposition of Great Britain, to recognize the ependence of the United States, had removed the ncipal difficulty, which had hitherto obstructed a genepacification. It would be curious to trace the fuclive fleps by which the nation was brought to this meae, fo irreconcilable to their former declarations. Vaus auxiliary causes might be called in to account for great change of the public mind of Great Britain, the fom of the whole must be resolved into this simproposition, "That it was unavoidable." A state of perval war was inconfiftent with the interest of a come rolal nation. Even the longer continuance of hostiliwas forbidden by every principle of wife policy. odT Postering him of the late proceedings,

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The avowed object of the alliance between France and America, and the steady adherence of both parties to enter into no negotiations without the concurrence of each other, reduced Great Britain to the alternative of continuing a hopeless unproductive war, or of negotiating under the idea of recognizing American independence. This great change of the public mind in Great Britain, favourable to American independence, took place be tween November 1781, and March 1782. In that in terval Mr. Laurens was released from his confinement in the tower. Before and after his release, he had frequent opportunities of demonstrating to persons in power that from his personal knowledge of the fentiments of Congress, and of their instructions to their ministers, every hope of peace, without the acknowledgement of independence was illusory. Seven years experience had proved to the nation that the conquest of the American States was impracticable; they now received equal conviction, that the recognition of their independence, wa an indispensible preliminary to the termination of a wan from the continuance of which, neither profit nor honor was to be acquired. The pride of Great Britain for long time refifted, but that usurping passion was obliged to yield to the superior influence of interest. The feel ings of the great body of the people were no longer to h controuled, by the honor of ministers, or romantic ideas of national dignity. At the close of the war, a revolution was effected in the fentiments of the inhabitants of Gra Britain, nor less remarkable than what in the beginning of it, took place among the citizens of America.

Independence which was neither thought of nor wished for by the latter in the year 1774, and 1775, became the year 1776 their favorite object. A recognition of this, which throughout the war, had been with few of ceptions the object of abhorrence to the British nation became in the year 1782, a popular measure in Grow Britain, as the means of putting an end to a ruinous was

The commissioners for negotiating peace on the put of the United States, were John Adams, Benjamin Frankin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens. On the part Great Britain, Mr. Fitzherbert, and Mr. Ofwald. Pro

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official articles of peace, between Great Britain and 1782. the United States were agreed upon by thefe gentlemen, Nov. 30. which were to be inferted in a future treaty of peace, to he finally concluded between the parties, when that between Great Britain and France took place. By thefe the independence of the flates was acknowledged in its fulleft extent! Very ample boundaries were allowed them, which comprehended the fertile and extensive countries on both fides of the Ohio, and on the east fide of the Miffiffippi, in which was the refidence of upwards of twenty nations of Indians, and particularly of the five nations, who had long been the friends and allies of Great Britain. ment of and on other places where both nations had heretofore merican Americans. From the necessity of the case, the loyalists was considered, nothing further than a simple recommendation for restitution, being stipulated in their favour. It a was, Five days after these provisional articles were signed, the British parliament met. They underwent a severe in for parliamentary discussion. It was said by the opposition has independence being recognized, every thing ceded by the second are united an equivalent; but that while they save up the many posts they held in the United States, in immense extent of north and western territory, a participation in the fur trade, and in the fisheries, nothing of Great was stipulated in return.

ress procured for their countrymen better terms than hey had reason to expect; but from a combination of cirbecame umstances, it was scarcely possible to end the war inition of the alliance between France and America, there could be no peace without independence. That once granted, in Grantof of the other articles followed of course. It is true the nous was conducted upon, were more extensive than the tates, when colonies had claimed, yet the surplus ceded ould have been of little or no use to Great Britain, and the part of the street of little or no use to Great Britain, and the part of the street of little or no use to Great Britain, and the part of the street of little or no use to Great Britain, and light if retained have given an occasion to a future war. the abliance and

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The case of the loyalists was undoubtedly a hard one but unavoidable, from the complex constitution of the United States. The American ministers engaged as far as they were authorised, and Congress did all that the conflitutionally could; but this was no more than fimple to recommend their case to the several States, for the pur pose of making them restitution. To have infisted on more, under fuch circumstances, would have been equivalent to faying that there should be no peace. It is true much more was expected from the recommendations of Congress, than resulted from them; but this was no the consequence of deception, but of misunderstanding the principles of the confederation. In conformity to the letter and spirit of the treaty, Congress urged in strong terms the propriety of making restitution to the loyalis but to procure it was beyond their power. In the and mation produced by the war, when the Americans cona more unreferved obedience to the recommendations a Congress, than is usually paid to the decrees of arbitrary sovereign. ceived their liberties to be in danger, and that their only arbitrary fovereigns. But the case was widely different lief when at the close of the war, a measure was recommended, in direct opposition to their prejudices. It was the whole general opinion of the Americans, that the continuant of the war, and the afperity with which it had been care less ried on, was more owing to the machinations of the fes. own countrymen, who had taken part with royal go amo vernment, than to their British enemies. It is certain and that the former had been most active in predatory expecutions, and most forward in scenes of blood and must the der. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to preder. Their knowledge of the country enabled them do mischief, which would never have occurred to Euro it's mai pean foldiers. Many powerful passions of human m ting ture operated against making restitution to men, wi were thus confidered as the authors of fo great a fam of the general distress.

There were doubtless a mong the loyalists many wo thy characters---friends to peace, and lovers of justin To fuch, restitution was undoubtedly due, and to man

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fuch it was made; but it is one of the many calamities incident to war, that the innocent, from the impossibility of diferimination, are often involved in the fame diftrefs with the guilty. The return of the loyalists to their former places of refidence, was as much difrelished by the whig citizens of America, as the proposal for reintburfing their conficated property. In fundry places committees were formed, which in an arbitrary manner, opposed their peaceable residence. The fober and difpaffionate citizens exerted themselves in checking these irregular measures; but such was the violence of party spirit, and fo relaxed were the finews of government, that in oppfition to legal authority, and the private interference of the judicious and moderate, many indecent outrages were committed on the perfons and property of the returning loyalists. Nor were these all the sufferings of those Americans who had attached themselves to the royal cause. Being compelled to depart their native country, many of them were obliged to take up their abodes in the inhospitable wilds of Nova Scotia, or on the the mot barren shores of the Bahama Islands. Parliamentary redifferent lief was extended to them, but this was obtained with ommend difficulty, and distributed with a partial hand. Some been car less artiful, were not half reimbursed for their actual los-of the ses. The bulk of the sufferings, subsequent to the peace among the Americans, fell to the share of the merchants, and others, who owed money in England. From the operations of the war remittances were impossible. In and mur the mean time payments were made in America by a determinant of the peace of the mean time payments were made in America by a determinant of the mean time payments were made in America by a determinant of the mean time payments were made in America by a determinant of the mean time payments were made in America by a determinant of the mean time payments were made in America by a determinant of the merchants, and others, who owed money in England. From the operations of the war remittances were impossible. In to Euro it a legal tender. The unhappy persons, who in this unhappy manner suffered payment, could not apply it to the exten, who in their foreign debts. If they retained in their hands the paper which was paid to them, it daily decreased in value: If they invested it in public securiany wo ties, from the deficiency of funds, their situation was no of justin better: If they purchased land, such was the superabunto man dance of territory ceded by the peace, that it fell great-

1782.

ly in value. Under all these embarrassments, the Ame. rican debtor was by treaty bound to make payments in specie of all his bona fide debts, due in Great Britain The British merchant was materially injured by being ken for many years out of his capital, and the American was often ruined by being ultimately held to pay in fpe cie, what he received in paper. Enough was fuffered on both fides to make the inhabitants, as well in Great Bris tain as in America, deprecate war as one of the greated evils incident to humanity.

APPENDIX, No. IV.

Villago has a series and control of the series of the series and compa

The State of parties; the advantages and disadvantage of the Revolution; its influence on the minds and mo. ath rals of the Citizens.

TOTAL THE THE TANK TO SELECT THE PARTY.

fa REVIOUS to the American revolution, the inhabitants of the British colonies were universally oft loyal. That three millions of fuch fubjects should break through all former attachments, and unanimously adopt new ones, could not reasonably be expected. The revo lution had its enemies, as well as its friends, in every per od of the war. Country religion, local policy, as wells the private views, operated in disposing the inhabitants to take of different fides. The New-England provinces being mon ly settled by one fort of people, were nearly of one sent at ment. The influence of placemen in Boston, together at with the connexions which they had formed by man ages, had attached fundry influential characters in the ages, had attached fundry influential characters in the lan capital to the British interest, but these were but as the ral dust in the balance, when compared with the numerot it independent whig yeomanny of the country. The same ghand and other causes produced a large number in New-York cop who were attached to royal government. That city he ten long been head quarters of the British army in America and many intermarriages, and other connexions, had be made between British officers, and some of their first fan lies. The practice of entailing estates had prevailed

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New-York to a much greater extent, than in any of the 1712. ther provinces. The governors thereof had long been n the habit of indulging their favorites with extravagant cants of land. This had introduced the distinction of andlord and tenant. There was therefore in New-York n aristocratic party, respectable for numbers, wealth and fluence, which had much to fear from independence. the city was also divided into parties by the influence f two ancient and numerous families, the Livingstones nd Delanceys. These having been long accustomed to ppose each other at elections, could rarely be brought unite, in any political measures. In this controversy, ne almost universally took part with America, the other with Great Britain.

The Irish in America, with a few exceptions were atvantage sched to independence. They had fled from oppression and me their native country, and could not brook the idea hat it should follow them. Their national prepossessions , the in pinions. They were Presbyterians, and people of that offly whigs. The Scotch on the other hand, though tey had formerly facrificed much to liberty in their own The reve puntry, were generally disposed to support the claims of mery per reat-Britain. Their nation for fome years past had sas wells sperienced a large proportion of royal favour. A very sits to take plant affordation was made by many, between the cause ing most flow Wilkes and the cause of America. The former one sense and rendered himself so universally odious to the Scotch, at ogether at many of them were prejudiced against a cause, which by many as so ridiculously, but generally associated, with that of a ters in the san who had grossly insulted their whole nation. The illibrate as the real resections east by some Americans on the whole body numeron the Scotch, as savourers of arbitrary power, restrained The same gh spirited individuals of that nation, from joining a sople who suspected their love of liberty. Such of the city has a adhered to the cause of independence, were sady in their attachment. The army and the Congress wheel among their best officers, and most valuable memin st fame is, some individuals of that nation.

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Such of the Germans, in America, aspossessed the means of information, were generally determined whigs, but many of them were too little informed, to be able to chuse their side on proper ground. Thry, especially such of them as resided in the interior country, were from their not understanding the English language, sar behind most of the other inhabitants, in a knowledge of the merits of the dispute. Their disaffection was rather passive than active: A considerable part of it arose from principles of religion, for some of their sects deny the lawfulness of war. No people have prospered more in America than the Germans. None have surpassed, and but sew have equalled them, in industry and other repub-

lican virtues. The great body of tories in the fouthern flates, was among the fettlers on their western frontier. Many of these were disorderly persons, who had fled from the old fettlements, to avoid the restraints of civil govern ment. Their numbers were encreased by a fer of men called regulators. The expense and difficulty of obtaining the decision of courts, against horse-thieves and other eriminals, had induced fundry persons, about the year 1770, to take the execution of the laws into their om hands, in some of the remote settlements, both of North and South-Carolina. In punishing crimes, forms as well as fubiliance, must be regarded. From not attending to the former, fome of thefe regulators, though perhap aiming at nothing but what they thought right, committed many offences both against law and justice. By their violent proceedings regular government was profrated This drew on them the vengeance of royal governors Theregulators having suffered from their hands, were flow to oppose an established government, whose power to punish they had recently experienced. Apprehending that the measures of Congress were like their own regu lating schemes, and fearing that they would terminate it the same disagreeable consequences, they and their adde rents were generally opposed to the revolution.

Religion also divided the inhabitants of America The presbyterians and independents, were almost univer-

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ally attached to the measures of Congress. Their reli-

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From independence they had much to hope, but from Great Britain if finally successful, they had reason to ear the establishment of a church hierarchy. Most of he episcopal ministers of the northern provinces, were enfroners on the bounty of the British government. the greatest part of their clergy, and many of their laity thefe provinces, were therefore disposed to support a onnexion with Great Britain. The episcopal clergy in hefe fouthern provinces being under no fuch biafs, were ften among the warmest whigs. Some of them foreseeng the downfall of religious establishments from the fuces of the Americans, were less active, but in geneal where their church was able to support itself, their lergy and laity, zealoufly espoused the cause of indepenence. Great pains were taken to persuade them, that hole who had been called diffenters, were aiming to abo-In the episcopal establishment, to make way for their wn exaltation, but the good sense of the people, rerained them from giving any credit to the unfounded egestion. Religious controversy was happily kept out f view: The well informed of all denominations were princed, that the contest was for their civil rights, and perefore did not fuffer any other confiderations to inrfere, or disturb their union.

The quakers with a few exceptions were averse to inependence. In Pennsylvania they were numerous, and
ad power in their hands. Revolutions in government
re rarely patronised by any body of men, who foresee
ar a diminution of their own importance, is likely to
sult from the change. Quakers from religious princies were averse to war, and therefore could not be
iendly to a revolution, which could only be effected by
es sword. Several individuals separated from them on acunt of their principles, and following the impulse of their
clinations, joined their countrymen in arms. The serces America received from two of their society, Genels Greene and Missin, made some amends for the embar-

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rassment, which the disaffection of the great body of their people occasioned to the exertions of the active friends of

independence.

The age and temperament of individuals had often an influence in fixing their political character. Old me were seldom warm whigs. They could not relish the great changes which were daily taking place. Attached to ancient forms and habits, they could not readily accommodate themselves to new systems. Few of the very rich were active in forwarding the revolution. This was remarkably the case in the eastern and middle States; but the reverse took place in the fouthern extreme of the confederacy. There were in no part of America, more determined whigs than the opulent slaveholders in Vinginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, The active and fpi rited part of the community, who felt themselves polfessed of talents, that would raise them to eminence in a free government, longed for the establishment of inde pendent constitutions: But those who were in possession or expectation of royal favour, or of promotion from Great Britain, wished that the connexion between the Pa rent State and the colonies, might be preferved. The young, the ardent, the ambitions and the enterprising were mostly whigs, but the phlegmatic, the timid, the interested and those who wanted decision were, in gene ral, favourers of Great Britain, or at least only the luke warm inactive friends of independence. The whigs re ceived a great reinforcement from the operation of continental money. In the year 1775, 1776, and in the first months of 1777, while the bills of Congress were in good credit, the effects of them were the fame, as if a foreign clin power had made the United States a prefent of twent ard million of filver dollars. The circulation of fo large a low fum of money, and the employment given to great numbers in providing for the American army, increased the numbers and invigorated the zeal of the friends to the revolution: on the same principles, the American war was patronised in England, by the many contractors and agent few for transporting and supplying the British army. In a figure to the sases the inconveniences of interrupted commerce money

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were lessened by the employment which war and a domestic circulation of money substituted in its room. The convultions of war afforded excellent shelter for desperate debtors. The spirit of the times revolted against dragging to jails for debt, men who were active and zealous in defending their country, and on the other hand, those who owed more than they were worth, by going within the British lines, and giving themselves the merit of suffering on the score of loyalty, not only put their creditors to defiance, but fometimes obtained promotion or other special marks of royal favour.

The American revolution, on the one hand, brought forth great vices; but on the other hand, it called forth many virtues, and gave occasion for the display of abilities which, but for that event, would have been loft to the world. When the war began, the Americans were a mass of husbandmen, merchants, mechanics and fishermen; but the necessities of the country gave a spring to the active powers of the inhabitants, and fet them on thinking, speaking and acting, in a line far beyond that to which they had been accustomed. The difference between nations is not fo much owing to nature, as to education and circumstances. While the Americans were guided by the leading strings of the mother country, they had no scope nor encouragement for exertion. All the departments of government were established and executed for them, but not by them. In the years 1775 and 1776 the country, being suddenly thrown into a situation that needed the abilities of all its fons, these generally took their places, each according to the bent of his inclination. As they severally pursued their objects with ardor, a vast expansion of the human mind speedily followed. This displayed itself in a variety of ways. It eat num was found that the talents for great stations did not differ eased the in kind, but only in degree, from those which were ne-nds to the cessary for the proper discharge of the ordinary business of mar was civil fociety. In the bustle that was occanonically and agent few instances could be produced of any persons who made rmy. It a figure, or who rendered essential services, but from a comment mong those who had given specimens of similar talents in

in their respective professions. Those who from inde, lence or diffipation, had been of little fervice to the community in time of peace, were found equally unfervice, able in war. A few young men were exceptions to this general rule. Some of these, who had indulged in youthful follies, broke off from their vicious courses and on the preffing call of their country became usen fervants of the public: but the great bulk of those, who were the active instruments of carrying on the revolution, were felf-made, industrious men. These who by their own exertions, had established or laid a foundation for establishing personal independence, were most generally trusted, and most successfully employed in establishing that of their country. In these times of action, class. cal education was found of less service than good natural parts, guided by common fense and found judgement

Several names could be mentioned of individuals who without the knowledge of any other language than their mother tongue, wrote not only accurately, but elegant ly, on public business. It seemed as if the war not only required, but created talents. Men whose minds were warmed with the love of liberty, and whose abilitie were improved by daily exercise, and sharpened with a landable ambition to ferve their distressed country, spoke, wrote, and acted, with an energy far surpassing all expectations which could be reasonably founded on their previous acquirements.

कम अवर्ष महस्रकी हर The Americans knew but little of one another, previous to the revolution. Trade and bufiness had brought the inhabitants of their feaports acquainted with each other, but the bulk of the people in the interior country were unacquainted with their fellow citizens. A continental army, and Congress composed of men from all the States, by freely mixing together, were affimilated into one mass. Individuals of both, mingling with the citizens, diffeminated principles of union among them Local prejudices abated. By frequent collision asperities ore were worn off, and a foundation was laid for the effect so blishment of a nation, out of discordant materials. In nan termarriages between men and women of different States vife

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were much more common than before the war, and berame an additional cement to the union. Unreasonable jealouses had existed between the inhabitants of the eastern and of the fourthern States; but on becoming better acquainted with each other, thefe in a great measure subfided. A wifer policy prevailed. Men of liberal minds led the way in discouraging local distinctions, and the great body of the people, as foon as reason got the better of prejudice, found that their best interests would be most effectually promoted by fuch practices and fentiments as were favourable to union. Religious bigotry had broken in upon the peace of various fects, before the American war. This was kept up by partial establishments, and by a dread that the church of England through the power of the mother country, would be made to rjumph over all other denominations. These apprehensions were done away by the revolution. The different seds, having nothing to fear from each other, dismissed all religious controversy. A proposal for introducing bishops into America before the war, had kindled a flame mong the diffenters; but the revolution was no fooner ccomplished, than a scheme for that purpose was perected, with the confent and approbation of all those sects who had previously opposed it. Pulpits which had formerly been shut to worthy men, because their heads had not been consecrated by the imposition of the hands of a Bishop or of a Presbytery, have since the establishment of indebendence, been reciprocally opened to each other, whenoever the public convenience required it. The world ith each will foon fee the refult of an experiment in politics, and ind be able to determine whether the happiness of society s increased by religious establishments, or diminished by from all the want of them.

Emilated Though schools and colleges were generally shut up duwith the ing the war, yet many of the arts and sciences were prong them noted by it. The Geography of the United States beore the revolution was but little known; but the marchthe estates of armies, and the operations of war, gave birth to at States rife would not have been made. A passionate fondness

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ness for studies of this kind, and the growing inportance of the country, excited one of its fons, the Rev. Mr. Morfe, to travel through every State of the Union, and amass a fund of topographical knowledge, far exceeding any thing heretofore communicated to the public. The necessities of the States led to the stude of Tactics, Fortification, Gunnery, and a variety of other arts connected with war, and diffused a knowledge of them among a peaceable people, who would other wife have had no inducement to fludy them.

The abilities of ingenious men were directed to make farther improvements in the art of destroying an enemy, Among these, David Bushnell of Connecticut invented machine for fubmarine navigation, which was found to answer the purpose of rowing horizontally, at any give depth under water, and of rifing or finking at pleafun To this was attached a magazine of powder, and the whole was contrived in fuch a manner, as to make it practicable to blow up vessels by machinery under them. Me Bushnell also contrived fundry other curious machines for the annoyance of British shipping; but from accident they only succeeded in part. He destroyed one vessel it charge of Commodore Symonds, and a fecond one near the shore of Long-Island.

Surgery was one of the arts which was promoted by the war. From the want of hospitals and other aids, the medical men of America, had few opportunities of penfeeling themselves in this art, the thorough knowledged which can only be acquired by practice and observation The melancholy events of battles, gave the American he pre one day, than they could have acquired in years of peace ands, It was in the hospitals of the United States, that Discient a Rush first discovered the method of curing the lock jaw to peoply bark and wine, added to other invigorating remedies unstan which has since been adopted with success in Europe and use as well as in the United States.

The science of government, has been more generally to hop diffused among the Americans by means of the ty, was revolution. The policy of Great Britain, in throw easure

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ne them out of her protection, induced a neces- 1782. of establishing independent constitutions. ed to reading and reasoning on the subject. The many erors that were at first committed by unexperienced atesmen, have been a practical comment on the folly unbalanced constitutions, and injudicious laws. The fcustions concerning the new constitution, gave birth to uch reasoning on the subject of government, and parcularly to a feries of letters figned Publius, but really he work of Alexander Hamilton, in which much polical knowledge and wifdom were displayed, and which ill long remain a monument of the strength and acuteels of the human understanding in investigating truth. When Great Britain first began her encroachments on e colonies, there were few natives of America who had stinguished themselves as speakers or writers, but the ontroversy between the two countries multiplied their umbers

The stamp act, which was to have taken place in 1765, aployed the pens and tongues of many of the colonists, od by repeated exercise improved their ability to serve eir country. The dwies imposed in 1767, called orth the pen of John Dickinson, who in a series of letrs figned a Pennsylvania Farmer, may be faid to have wo the feeds of the revolution. For being universally ad by the colonists, they universally enlightened them of person the dangerous consequences, likely to result from their ledged sing taxed by the parliament of Great Britain.

rvation In establishing American independence, the pen and merican he press had merit equal to that of the sword. As the morein ar was the people's war, and was carried on without f peace ands, the exertions of the army would have been insuf-at Da cient to effect the revolution, unless the great body of ock jaw to people had been prepared for it, and also kept in a emedies instant disposition to oppose Great Britain. To rouse Europe ad unite the inhabitants, and to persuade them to tience for several years, under present sufferings, with enerally the hope of obtaining remote advantages for their poste-of the ty, was a work of difficulty: This was effected in a great throw easure by the tongues and pens of the well informed citizens,

19821 citizens, and on it depended the fuccess of military open rations. evolutioner housesburg

> To enumerate the names of all those who were fun cefsful labourers in this arduous bullness, is impossible The following lift contains in hearly alphabetical order the names of the most distinguished writers in favour the rights of Americal non worth aniars in an anoil

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John Adams, and Samuel Adams, of Bolton; Bland of Virginia; John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania; Danie Dulany, of Amagolis; William Henry Drayton, South-Carolina; Dr. Franklin, of Philadelphia; John Jay, and Alexander Hamilton, of New-York; Thom Jefferson, and Arthur Lee of Virginia; Jonathan H. man, of Connecticut; Governor Livingston, of No. Jersey; Dr. Mayhew, and James Otis, of Boston; The mas Paine, Dr. Ruth, Charles Thompfon, and Jam Wilson, of Philadelphia; William Tennant, of Soul Carolina; Josiah Quincy, and Dr. Warren, of Bollo Thefe and many others laboured in enlightening the countrymen, on the subject of their political interest and in animating them to a proper line of conduct, defence of their liberties. To thefe individuals may b added, the great body of the elergy, especially in New England. The printers of news papers, had also mud merit in the fame way. Particularly Ledes and Gill, Boston; Holt, of New-York; Bradford, of Philade phia; and Timothy, of South-Carolina.

The early attention which had been paid to literatu in New-England, was also eminently conducive to the for cess of the Americansin relitting Great Britain. The united fity of Cambridge was founded as early as 1616; and Ya college in 1700. It has been computed, that in the year the fe Boston port act was passed, there were in the four easter colonies, upwards of two thousand graduates of their deen leges dispersed through their several towns, who by the lan knowledge and abilities, were able to influence and directored the great body of the people to a proper line of conductores for opposing the encroachments of Grent Britain on the lies liberties. The colleges to the fouthward of New-England stude except that of William and Mary in Virginia, were be any ope

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modern date; but they had been of a standing suffileady long, to have trained for public fervice, a confideble number of the youth of the country. The college New-Jerley, which was incorporated about 28 years fore the revolution, had in that time educated upards of 300 persons, who, with a few exceptions, were dive and uleful friends of independence. From the inmence which knowledge had in fecuring and preferving libertles of America, the present generation may trace he wife policy of their fathers, in erecting schools and ofleges. They may also learn that it is their duty to found mre, and support all such institutions. Without the dvantages derived from these lights of this new world, "United States would probably have fallen in their nedual contest with Great Britain. Union which was flential to the fuccess of their resistance, could scarcely wetaken place, in the measures adopted by an ignorant full mide. Much less could wisdom in council, unity in If denying war, be expected from an uninformed peole It is a well known fact, that persons unfriendly to de revolution, were always most numerous in those parts the United States, which had either never been illumated, or but faintly warmed by the rays of fciice. The uninformed and the milinformed, constisted a great proportion of those Americans, who prerred the leading strings of the Parent State, though peroaching on their liberties, to a government of their

As literature had in the first instance favoured the reand Ya
become he sure had in the first instance favoured the reand Ya
button, so in its turn, the revolution promoted literature.

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conductors which the war made necessary, called forth abi
ies where they were, and excited the rising generation

fludy arts, which brought with them their own reward.

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muses, to dis play their talents. Even burlesquing ropa proclamations, by parodies and doggerel poetry, had gran effects on the minds of the people. A celebrated hitten an has remarked, that the fong of Lillibullero forwards the revolution of 1688 in England. It may be truly a firmed, that similar productions produced similar effect Francis, Hopkinson rendered effential fa in America. vice to his country, by torning the artillery of wit an ridicule on the enemy. Philip Freneau laboured fuced fully in the same way. Royal proclamations and other productions which iffued from royal printing preffes, we by the help of a warm imagination, arrayed in fuch dreft as rendered them truly ridiculous. Trumbull with vein of original Hudibrattic humour, diverted his country men so much with the follies of their enemies, that a time they forgot the calamities of war. Humphin ing the fame of an elegant poet, to that of an accom plished officer. Barlow increased the fame of his count and of the diftinguished actors in the revolution, by bold design of an epic poem ably executed, on the ide that Columbus forefaw in vision, the great scenes the were to be transacted on the theatre of that new work which he had discovered. Dwight firmek out in fameline, and at an early period of life finished, an elega work entitled the conquest of Canaan, on a plan who has rarely been attempted. The principles of their me ther tongue, were first unfolded to the Americans in the revolution, by their countryman Webster. Parsu an unbeaten track, he has made discoveries in the genin and construction of the English language, which had to caped the refearches of preceding philologists. The and a group of other literary characters have been brong into view by the revolution. It is remarkable, that thefe, Connecticut has produced an unufual proportion In that truly republican state, every thing conspires adorn human nature with its highest honours.

From the later periods of the revolution till the profest time, schools, colleges, societies and institutions spromoting literature, arts, manufactures, agriculture, a

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for extending human happiness, have been increased far eyoud any thing that ever took place before the declaation of independence. Every state in the union, has fone more or less in this way, but Pennsylvania has done he moft. The following inflitutions have been very ately founded in that state, and most of them in the me of the war or fince the peace. An university the city of Philadelphia; a college of physicians in he same place; Dickinson college at Carlisle; Franklin ollege at Lancaster; the Protestant Episcopal academy in Philadelphia; academies at York-town, at Germantown, t Pittsburgh and Washington; and an academy in Phidelphia for young ladies; focieties for promoting ponical enquiries; for the medical relief of the poor, uner the title of the Philadelphia Diffenfary; for prooring the abolition of flavery, and the relief of free egroes unlawfully held in bondage; for propagating the ofpel among the Indians, under the direction of the lailed Brethern; for the encouragement of manufactures id the uleful arts; for alleviating the miseries of prions. Such have been some of the beneficial effects, hich have refulted from that expansion of the human ind, which has been produced by the revolution, but ele have not been without alloy.

To overfer an established government unhinges many those principles, which bind individuals to each other. long time, and much prudence, will be necessary to produce a fpirit of union and that reverence for gorament, without which fociety is a rope of fand. ght of the people to refift their rulers, when invading eirliberties, forms the corner stone of the American reiblics. This principle, though just in itself, is not faburable to the tranquillity of present establishments. he maxims and measures, which in the years 1774 and 175 were successfully inculcated and adopted by Amecan patriots, for oversetting the established government, Ill answer a similar purpose when recurrence is had to em by factious demagogues, for disturbing the freest

vernments that were ever devised.

War never fails to injure the morals of the people on gaged in it. The American war, in particular, had a unhappy influence of this kind. Being begun without funds or regular establishments, it could not be carried on without violating private rights; and in its progress it involved a necessity for breaking solemn promises, and plighted public faith. The failure of national justice which was in some degree unavoidable, increased the ficulties of performing private engagements, and weat ened that sensibility to the obligations of public and m vate honor, which is a focurity for the punctual perform ance of contracts.

In confequence of the war, the inflitutions of religi on have been deranged, the public worship of the Da fuspended, and a great number of the inhabitants de prived of the ordinary means of obtaining that religion knowledge, which tames the fierceness, and foftens the rudenels of human pations and manners. Many the temples dedicated to the service of the most High were destroyed, and these from a deficiency of abili and inclination, are not yet rebuilt. The clergy wo left to fuffer, without proper support. The deprecial of the paper currency was particularly injurious to then It reduced their falaries to a pittance, fo infufficient for their maintenance, that feveral of them were obliged in lay down their profession, and engage in other pursuis Public preaching, of which many of the inhabitants we thus deprived, feldom fails of rendering effential fervio to fociety, by civilifing the multitude and forming the No class of citizens have contributed more the revolution than the clergy, and none have hithen fuffered more in consequence of it. From the dimin tion of their number, and the penury to which they has been subjected, civil government has lost many of the advantages it formerly derived from the public infirm tions of that useful order of men.

On the whole, the literary, political, and military tales of the citizens of the United States have been improve by the revolution, but their moral character is ferior to what it formerly was. So great is the chan

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for the worle, that the friends of public order are loudly called upon to exert their utmost abilities, in extirpating the vicious principles and habits, which have taken deep root during the late convultions.

the same of well enjoying for any than C.H.A.B. XXVII.

The discharge of the American army: The evacuation of New-Tork: The resignation of General Washington: Arrangements of Congress for the disposing of their western territory, and paying their debts: The distresses of the States after the peace: The inefficacy of the articles of the Confederation; A Grand Convention for amending the Government: The New Constitution: General Washington appointed President: An address to the people of the United States.

THILE the citizens of the United States were anticipating the bleffings of peace, their army which had fuccessfully stemmed the tide of British victor ries, was unrewarded for its services. The States which had been rescued by their exertions from slavery, were in no condition to pay them their stipulated due. To difmils officers and foldiers, who had fpent the prime of their days in ferving their country, without an equivatent for their labors, or even a fufficiency to enable them to gain a decent living, was a hard but unavoidable cafe. An attempt was made by anonymous and feditious publications to inflame the minds of the officers and foldiers, and induce them to unite in redreffing their own grievances, while they had arms in their hands. As foon as General Washington was informed of the nature of these papers, he requested the General and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representation from the staff of the army, to assemble on an early day. He rightly judged that it would be much easier to divert from a wrong to a right path, than to recal fatal mprove and hasty steps, after they had once been taken. The period, previously to the meeting of the officers, was improved in preparing them for the adoption of moderate measures

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measures. Gen. Washington fent for one officer the another, and chlarged in private, on the fatal confequent ces, and particularly on the lofs of character to the whole army, which would refult from intemperate refolutions. When the officers were convened the commander in chief addressed them in a speech well calculated to calm their mind. He also pledged himself to exert all his abilities and influence in their favor, and requested them to rely on the faith of their country, and conjured them " a they valued their honor --- as they respected the rights of humanity, and as they regarded the military and national character of America, to express their utmost detellation of the man, who was attempting to open the flood. gates of civil discord, and defuge their rising empire win blood". Gen. Washington then retired. The minds of those who had heard him were in such an irritable state, that nothing but their most ardent patriotism and his unbounded influence, prevented the proposal of rath refelutions which if adopted, would have fullied the glory of seven years service. No reply whatever was made in the General's Speech. The happy moment was feized, while the minds of the officers foftened by the eloquene of their beloved commander, were in a yielding state and a refolution was unanimously adopted by which they declared " that no circumstances of distress or danger, should induce a conduct that might rend to fully the reputation and glory they had acquired, that the army continued to have an unshaken confidence, in the justice of Congress and their country. That they viewed with abhorrence and rejected with difdain, the infamous propositions in the late anonymous address to the officers of the army. Too much praise cannot be given to Gen, Washington, for the patriotism and decision which mark, ed his conduct, in the whole of this serious transaction Perhaps in no instance did the United States receive from heaven a more fignal deliverance, through the hands of the commander in chief.

March

1752

Soon after these events, Congress completed a resolution which had been for some time pending, that the officers of their army, who preferred a sum in gross to an an-

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mity, should be entitled to receive to the amount of five ears full paye in money or fecurities at fix per cent. per norm, instead of the half pay for life, which had been reviously promised to them? hating on he wire well

To avoid the inconveniences of difmiffing a great May 26, umber of foldiers in a body, furloughs were freely ranted to individuals, and after their difpersion they ere not enjoined to nemental Byothis arrangement a ritinal moment was got over ... A great past of an unaid army, was dishanded and dispersed over the States, ithous sumula or diforder. The privates denerally beook themselves to labor, and crowned the merit of begood fordiers, by becoming good citizens Several . 81 BO the American officers, who had been bred mechanics clumed their trades, In old countries the distanding a ngle regiment, even though fully paid, has often produced rious confequences, but in America where arms had centaken up fon lelf defence, they were peaceably laid own as foon as they became unneedlary ... As foldiers d been easily and speedily formed in 1779, out of farers, planters; and mechanics, with bonal case and exdition in the year 1783, they dropped their adventitiis character, and refumed their former occupations bout 80 of the Pennfylvania levies formed an exceptio to the prevailing peaceable disposition of the army. hele in defiance of their officers, fet out from Lancafter od marched to Philadelphia to feek a redress of their rievances, from the executive council of the state. The utineers in opposition to advice and intreaties, persisted their march, till they arrived at Philadelphia. They are there joined by fome other troops, who were quarred in the barracks. The whole amounting to nowards 309 men, marched with fixed bayonets and drums, to e statehouse, in which Congress and the supreme execuve council of Pennsylvania held their fessions. They aced guards at every door, and font in a written mefge to the President and Council of the state, and reatened to les loofe an enraged foldiers upon them, they were not gratified as to their demand within 20 inness. The figuation of Congress, though they were

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far from being agreeable. After being about three house under duresse they being distributed that the authority of the United States had been grossly infull ed. Soon after they left Philadelphia, and fixed a Princeton as the place of their next meeting. Generally as a march for Philadelphia. Previously to the army, to march for Philadelphia. Previously to the army, the disturbances were quieted without bloodhed Several of the mutineers were tried and condemned, in to suffer death, and four to receive corporal punishmen but they were all afterwards pardoned.

Oct. 18, Towards the close of the year, Congress issued a proposed of the United States we applicated, "for having displayed in the progress of arduous and difficult war, every military and patrio virtue, and in which the thanks of their country we given them, for their long, eminent and faithful services Congress then declared it to be their pleasure, that he part of their forders armies, as flood engaged to serve ding the war, should from and after the third day of wember next, be absolutely discharged from the faid services.

On the day preceding their dismission, General Walking ton issued his farewell orders, in the most endearing language. After giving them his advice respecting their future conduct, and bidding them an affectionate farewell he concluded with these words, "May ample justice done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's his yours, both here and hereafter, attend those, who under the divine auspices have secured innumerable blessings to others. With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service; the curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene, to him, will be closed forever."

With great exertions of the superintendant of finance four months pay, in part of several years arreatages, were given to the army. This sum, though triffling, was all the immediate recompense the States were able to make those brave men, who had conducted their country through an eight years war, to peace and independent

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The evacuation of New-York, took place in about 1783. hree weeks after the American army was discharged. or a twelvemonth preceding, there had been an unref. Nov. 25 rained communication between that city, though a Briish garrison, and the adjacent country. The bitterness of var passed away, and civilities were freely interchanged tween those, who had lately fought for opportunities to leftroy each other. General Washington and Governor Clinton, with their suites, made a public entry into the my of New-York, as foon as the royal army was with-The Lieutenant Governor, and members of the ouncil, the officers of the American army, and the itizens, followed in an elegant procession. It was renarked that an unusual proportion of those who in 1776. ad fled from New-York, were by death cut off from partaking in the general joy, which flowed in upon their ellow citizens, on returning to their ancient habitations. The ease and affluence which they enjoyed in the days of heir prosperity, made the severities of exile inconvenintioall, and fatal to many, particularly to fuch as were dranced in life. Those who survived, both felt and expreffed the overflowings of joy, on finding their fufferings ind fervices rewarded with the recovery of their country; the expulsion of their enemies, and the establishment of their independence. In the evening there was a display of fireworks, which exceeded every thing of the kind before seen in the United States. They commenced by dove's descending with an olive branch, and setting fire to a marron battery.

The hour now approached in which it became necessary for General Washington to take leave of his officers, who had been endeared to him by a long series of common sufferings and dangers. This was done in a solemn manner. The officers having previously assembled for the purpose, General Washington joined them, and calling for a glass of wine, thus addressed them, "with an heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you, I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." The officers came up successively

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ceffively, and he took an affectionate leave of each of them. When this affecting scene was over, Washington left the room, and passed through the corps of light in fantry, to the place of embarkation. The officers of lowed in a solemn mute procession, with dejected countries. On his entering the barge to cross the non river, he turned towards the companions of his glory, as by waving his hat, bid them a filent adieu. Some them answered this last signal of respect and affect with tears, and all of them hung upon the barge when conveyed him from their light, till they could no long distinguish in it the person of their beloved command in chief.

A proposal was made to perpetuate the friendhip the officers, by forming themselves into a fociety, to barned after the famous Roman patriot Chicinnatus. T extreme realoufy of the new republics faspected dans to their liberties, from the union of the leaders of its late army, and effectally from a part of their inflithm which field out to their posterity, the honder of be admitted members of the fame foeiety. To obvine grounds of fear, the general meeting of the fociet recommended an afteration of their infinition, which I Been adopted by eight of the flate focieties. By this is commendation it was proposed to expange every this that was hereditary, and to retain little elfe than the original name, and a focial charitable inflitution for pa betuating their personal friendships, and relieving wants of their indigent brethren. General Washingt on the approaching diffoliation of the American arm By a circular letter to the Governors or Prefidents of the individual frates, gave his parting advice to his country men; and with all the charms of eloquence, inculcate the necessity of union, justice, subordination and of for principles and practices, as their new fituation required

The army being difbanded, the commander in che proceeded to Annapolis, then the feat of Congress, refign his commission. On his way thither, he delived to the Comptroller in Philadelphia an account of the expenditure of all the public money he had ever received.

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ed. This was in his own hand writing, and every entry ras made in a very particular manner. The whole fum, which in the course of the war had passed through his hands, amounted only to £14,479 18 9 fterling. hing was charged or retained as a reward for personal ervices, and actual difburfements had been managed with fuch economy and fidelity, that they were all coered by the above moderate fum.

In every town and village, through which the Geneal passed, he was met by public and private demonstraions of gratitude and joy. When he arrived at Anna- Dec. 19 olis, he informed Congress of his intention to ask leave o relign the commission he had the honor to hold in heir service, and defired to know their pleasure in what nanner it would be most proper to be done. olved that it should be in a public audience. When the Dec. 23 ay fixed for that purpose arrived, a great number of istinguished personages attended the interesting scene. t a proper moment, General Washington addressed homas Mifflin the President, in the following words:

"Mr. President,

"The great events on which my refignation dependd, having at length taken place, I have now the honor f offering my fincere congratulations to Congress, and f prescuting myself before them to surrender into their ands, the trust committed to me, and to claim the inulgence of retiring from the service of my country."

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and overeignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded he United States of becoming a respectable nation, I regn with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with iffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish fo rduous a task, which however was superfeded by a condence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the upreme Power of the union, and the patronage of Hea-

"The successful termination of the war has verified he most fanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the pterposition of Providence, and the assistance I have reeived from my countrymen, increases with every review the momentous contest."

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"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to asknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services, and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war: it was impossible the choice of considential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate; permit me, sir, to recommend a particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice as patronage of Congress."

"I consider it as an indispensible duty to close this he folemn act of my official life, by commending the intense of our dearest country to the protection of Almight God, and those who have the superintendance of the

to His holy keeping." The total and bladw, to need

"Having now finished the work affigued me, I rem from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affect onate farewell to this august body, under whose order I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and the my leave of all the employments of public life."

To this the President returned the following answers
"The United States in Congress assembled, remove with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn refignation of the authorities under which you have to their troops with success, through a perilous and doubt ful war."

"Called upon by your country to defend its invade rights, you accepted the facred charge before it had form ed alliances, and whilft it was without friends or a go

vernment to support you."

"You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights the civil power through all disasters and changes: we have by the love and considence of your fellow citized enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity; you have persevered, these United States, aided by a magnanimous King as nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, close the war in freedom, safety and independence; which happy event we sincerely join you in congrant tions."

World-having taught a lesson useful to those who inslict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessing of your fellow ditizens, but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command, it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interest of those considential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment."

"We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, befeeching Him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them, of becoming a happy and respectable nation; and for xov, we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be softered with all His care; That your days may be happy as they have been illustrious, and that He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

The great scenes that crouded in upon the imagination of the General, and of the President, so affected them both, that they almost lost the power of utterance. The mingled emotions that agitated the minds of the spectators, on feeing the commander in chief of their armies, refigning all public employments, and his country acknowledging his fervices, and loading him with their bleffings were beyond description. Immediately on refigning his commission, Mr. Washington, "hastened with inestable delights," (to use his own words) to his seat at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potowmac in Virginia. Here the historian would wish to make a pause, while he defcribed, the simple and heartfelt joy of neighbours and domestics, who welcomed him to his home. Let it not be deemed foreign to his present subject, to do homage to the feelings and character of the amiable partner of his conjugal happiness, upon this occasion. She deserved this tide of unparalelled female honour and felicity, for the loved her country, and bore with more than Roman---with christian patience and fortitude, the pains to which his long

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long absence, and the perils of his health and life hadex, posed her. Fain would the historian pursue the illustrious hero of the revolution, a little further, and attempt to describe his feelings upon his first review of the events of the war, from the quiet station which he now occupied, But this digression would lead him far from the objects of his history.

To pass suddenly from the toils of the first public commission in the United States, to the care of a farm; to exchange the instruments of war, for the implements of hubbandry, and to become at once, the patron and example of ingenious and profitable agriculture, would to most men have been a difficult task. But to the elevated mind of the late commander in chief, of the armies of the United States, it was natural and delightful; and should these pages descend to posterity, and war continue ages hence to be the means of establishing national justice, let the commanders of armies learn from the example of General Washington, that the same which is acquired by the sword, without guilt or ambition, may be preserved without power, or splendor, in private life.

Though the war was over, much remained for Congress to do. The proper disposition of their unsettled western and northern frontier, became an object of ferious attention. The eaftern states had been settled uniformly in townships, but the middle and southern states by indifcriminate location. On a comparison of the merits of these different methods of fettling a new country, Congress gave a decided preference to the former. Conformably to these principles, an ordinance was passed on the 20th of May 1785, for disposing of that part of the western territory, which bounds on Pennsylvania. Many settlers foon migrated to this country. Civil Government was established among them. A Governor and Judge were appointed and paid by Congress. They fixed their capital to which they gave the name of Marietta, at the conflux of the Muskingum and Ohio, In the first years of their fettlement, Congress ordained that they should be governed as a colony of the United States, but engaged, that as foon as they had attained a population, equal to the of the smallest of the old states, they should be received

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Thele arrangements for promoting domestic tranquillity were accompanied by others, for forming commercial connexions with the fovereigns of Europe. Towards the elofe of the war, Dr. Franklin had concluded a treaty between the United States, and the King of Sweden. He Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson were appointed joint commissioners for forming commercial treaties with foreign nowers. They fucceeded in their negotiation with the King of Prussa, and the Emperor of Morocco. Mr. Adams was also appointed Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, to the Court of Great Britain; and was instructed to folicit a treaty between these two powers, but the Ministers of his Britannic Majesty, declined entering into any treaty with him. They affigued the inability of Congress, to compel the different states to observe general commercial regulations, as a reason for declining he proposed connexion. From mismanagement, the United States with respect to trade were in fact nearly as dependent on Great Britain, after the peace, as before the war. They had loft the privileges of British subjects with regard to fome branches of commerce, but fuffered most of the inconveniences of that political condition, in confequence of their inability to regulate their commerce by the will. In this deranged state of public affairs, Great Britain could expect little more from a treaty with the United States, than what her merchants already poffeffed. She continued to reap the benefits of an extensive trade with America, without a reciprocity of advantages Mr. Adams finding his labours ineffectual, defired leave to return to America, which was granted.

To provide funds for paying their continental debt, engaged the attention of Congress, for some time before, and after the peace. The amount of this at the close of the war as nearly as could be calculated, was about formulations of dollars. In prosecuting the necessary means for discharging it, the inefficacy of the articles of confederation soon became apparent. By these, Con-

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gress though bound to pay, possessed no power of raise

ing a revenue. Its constitutional authority extended no

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for their quotas, to be afcertained in a relative proportion to the value of their lands. A proposition was made to the several states near to the close of the war, to invest Congress with a power to levy an impost of five per cent at the time and place of importation, on the value of all goods imported from foreign countries, till the whole of their public debt should be extinguished. Danger beim now nearly over, felfish passions began to operate. Of jections were made, to trusting the purse and the fwon into the hands of the same body of men, and that to for an indefinite period of time. To obviate thefe fcruola Congress on a reconsideration, proposed to limit the grant of a continental impost to 25 years, and to confi the application of its neat proceeds exclusively, to the discharge of existing debts. On these principles, a systeme revenue for funding and ultimately paying the whole put lic debt was completed, and offered to the states for the Apr. 18 ratification. By this, it was proposed to raise 2 million and a half of dollars annually, to defray the interest of the continental debt. It was expected that the impoll would bring in the first year one million of dollars and increase every year afterwards. The states were respectively called upon to raise the balance, according to proportions affigned them, from some permanent of stablished fund subject to the disposal of Congress. proposition was also made, to change the federal rule apportioning the public debt, from the value of land, the more practicable one of numbers of inhabitants the different states. The whole system was transmitted to the state legislatures, and accompanied by an animalo address, enforcing the propriety of its immediate ado Some of the states adopted it in the whole; other only in part, and fome not at all. The states whose po pulation was great, and whose lands were of an inferio

> quality, objected to changing the federal rule of appo tionment, from the value of lands to numbers. Some the states which from their having convenient port

Apr. 18

1783.

1783.

f raif ded no A state oportis made o invest er cent. e of all hole of er beim . Ob e fwon hat too cruple mit the confin to th ystemo ole pub for their million terest of e impol dollars tes wen ccordin ment d refs. rule land, itants i ansmitte animate ate adop e; other hose po n inferio of appoi Some

ere called importing states, found it to be more for heir immediate advantage, to raife money by impost for heir separate use, than for the benefit of the union. her who received foreign goods through neighbouring ates, and which were called confuming states, comlained that by the revolution they had only changed afters, for that inflead of being taxed by Great Britain about their confent, they were virtually taxed in like anner by their fifter states, who happened to be more rourably fituated for importing foreign goods. From ele juring interests, and from the want of a disposition support a supreme head, and to give up local advanpes for the general benefit, the revenue system of Conrels was never put in operation. Its failure was the burce of many evils. No efficient funds being provided pay the interest of the national debt, the public fecuties of the United States fell in their value to ten for ne, and became an article of speculation. The waromfoldier who received at the close of the contest only abligation for the payment of his hard earned dues, as from necessity often obliged to transfer his rights for n infignificant fum. The monied man who had trufted is country in the hour of her distress, was deprived not ply of his interest, on which he counted for his daily ipport, but of a great part of the value of his capital. be non-payment of public debis, sometimes inferred a ecessity, and always furgished an apology, for not disharging private contracts. Confidence between man nd man received a deadly wound. Public faith being of violated, private engagements loft much of their oblistory force. Gen. Washington who pobly refused any ing for himself, had eloquently though unsuccessfully eaded the cause of the army, and other public crediors, in his circular letter to the governors before his remation, and predicted the evils which followed from te rejection of the revenue system of Congress. is observations were as follows: "As to the feand article which respects the performance of public jusce, Congress have in their late address to the United ates almost exhausted the subject. They have ex-WG ained their ideas fo fully, and have enforced the ob-Vol. II. Uu ligations

ligations the states are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors, with fo much dignity and energy, that in my opinion no real friend to the home and independency of America, can helitate a fingle moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honorable measures proposed. If the arguments do not produce conviction, I know of no thing that will have greater influence, especially who we recollect that the fystem referred to, being the refult of the collected wildom of the continent must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the les objectionable of any that could be devised, and the if it shall not be carried into immediate execution, a non onal bankruptcy with all its deplorable confequences take place, before any different plan can possibly be no posed or adopted. So pressing are the present circum stances, and fuch is the alternative now offered to states." Congress continued to send forth annual n quisitions, for the sums wanted for the public service and indulged the hope that the flates would eler long convinced, of the necessity of adopting an efficient system of general revenue: But their requisitions as well as the fystem of revenue, were difregarded by some of the flate and but partially complied with by others. From the failure of public justice, a deluge of evils overflowed the United States. These were also encreased by an un vorable balance of trade. The ravages of armies, the interruption of a free communication, between I rope and America during the war, had multiplied the wants of the latter, to a degree which exceeded all pro ous calculations. An inundation of European manufa tures, was therefore one of the first effects which follow ed the establishment of peace. These were purchased the Americans far beyond their means of payment. A venturers grasping at the profits of trading with the no pgui formed states, exported to America goods to a great amount exceeding what either prudence or policy could justif The Americans foon found themselves involved in a deb intal In several instances, these debts were contracted on a skin dit by persons to whom the United States were indebte circle

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These presuming on the justice of their country, had inpolved themselves in private engagements, hoping that what they received from the public would furnish them with the means of payment. Such were doubly diffrescd4 of the second of the secon

The fufferings of the inhabitants were increased in consequence of the obstructions of their trade. intercourse with the West-India Islands, from which, when colonies they derived large supplies of gold and fiver, was forbidden to them in their new capacity of ndependent states. Their fisheries received a severe check, from their being excluded from feveral ports in which, then colonies, they had found a ready fale for the fruits f their industry, which they drew from the ocean. These evils were still farther aggravated by the stoppage of he bounty on whale oil, to which, when British subjects hey were entitled. To add to their other misfortunes. hey could no longer fail with fafety in the Mediterranen, a privilege which they had always enjoyed, while hey were a part of the British empire. Unable to defend hemselves from the Algerine corsairs, they were obliged ither to quit that beneficial trade, or ensure it at a ruinous remium.

The United States from the want of power in their ommon head, were incapacitated from acting in concert, as to avail themselves of their natural advantages. Conress called once more upon the States to enlarge their owers, and particularly to entrust them with the regution of commerce for a limited number of years. Sonfe manufactures fully complied with this call, but others fettered their chased an uniform system.

nt. A From the combined operation of these causes trade the ne oguithed; credit expired; gold and filver vanished; and stamous consequence thereof, real property was depreciated to in a de total money, in the 2d or 3d year of its emission. Inuneque tad of imitating the wife policy of Great Britain, in d on making an artificial medium of circulation, by funding indebte cir debts, several of the states to alleviate the distresses

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ariling from the want of money, adopted the fallacions expedient of emitting paper, to supply the place of gold and filver: But the remedy increased the disease. If the stunding plan had been adopted, the sum due by the United States, was so much within their resources, that by the establishment of efficient stunds, for the punctual discharge of the interest, the public debt might have easily been made a public blessing. It would have been a capital for the extension of agriculture, commerce and manufacture, as well as an honest and effectual substitute for real coins But these advantages, which would have bessed much a the sufferings of the inhabitants, were soft by the imberiality of the general government, and the want of content in the state legislatures.

When the people on the return of peace supposed the troubles to be ended, they found them to be only varied The calamities of war were followed by another class evils, different in their origin, but not less injurious their confequences. The inhabitants feeling the preffun of their fufferings, and not knowing precifely from wh fource they originated, or how to remedy them, became uneafy, and many were ready to adopt any desperate me fures that turbulent leaders might recommend. this irritable state, a great number of the citizens Massachusetts, fore with their enlarged portion of pul lic calamity, were induced by feditious demagogues, make an open reliftance to the operations of their or free government. Infurrections took place in many part and laws were trampled upon by the very men wholed puties had enacted them, and whose deputies might ha repealed them. By the moderation of the legislature and especially by the bravery and good conduct of Gent rals Lincoln, and Shepherd, and the firmnels of the w affected militia, the infurgents were freedily quelled, a good order reftored, with the lofs of about fix of the fre men of the state. CONTRACT TO COUNTY

The untoward events which followed the re-establishment of peace, though evils of themselves, were overled for great national good. From the failure of the expectations of an immediate increase of political happens.

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sels, the lovers of liberty and independence began to be less sanguine in their hopes from the American revolution, and to fear that they had built a visionary fabric of government, on the fallacious ideas of public virtue; but that elafticity of the human mind, which is nurtured by free conflictations, kept them from desponding. By an exertion of those inherent principles of felf-preservation, which republies poffes, a recurrence was had to the good sense of the people, for the rectification of fundamental diforders. While the country, free from foreign force and domestic violence, enjoyed tranquillity, a proposition was made by Virginia to all the other States to meet in convention, for the purpose of digetting a form of government, equal to the exigencies of the union. The first motion for this purpose was made by Mr. Madison, and he had the pleasure of seeing it acceded to by twelve of the States, and finally to iffue in the efubliffment of a New Constitution, which bids fair to repay the citizens of the United States for the toils, dangers and wastes of the revolution. The fundamental diffinction between the articles of confederation and the new constitution lies in this; the former acted only on States, the latter on individuals; the former could neither raife men nor money by its own authority, but lay at the differetion of thirteen different legislatures, and without their unanimous concurrence was unable to provide for the public safety, or for the payment of the national debt. The experience of feveral years had proved the impossibility of a government answering the end of its institution, which was dependent on others for the means necessary for attaining these ends. By the new constitution, one legislative, executive, and judicial power pervades the whole union. This ensures an uniform observance of treaties, and gives a stability to the general government, which never could be attained while the acts and requisitions of Congress were subject to the revision of thirteen legislatures, and while thirteen distinct and enconnected judiciaries, had a conflitutional right to decide on the fame subject. The people of the United States gave no new powers to their rulers, but made a

more judicious arrangement of what they had formerly ceded. They enlarged the powers of the general government, not by taking from the people, but from the State legislatures. They took from the latter a power of levying duties on the importation of merchandise from foreign countries, and transferred it to Congress for the common benefit of the union. They also invested the general government with a power to regulate trade. levy taxes and internal duties on the inhabitants. That these enlarged powers might be used only with caution and deliberation, Congress, which formerly consisted of only one body, was made to confift of two; one of which was to be chosen by the people in proportion to their numbers, the other by the State legislatures. The execution of the acts of this compounded legislature was committed to a Supreme Magistrate, with the title of President. The constitution, of which these were the principal features, was submitted to the people for ratification, Animated debates took place on the propriety of establishing or rejecting it. Some States, who from their local fituation were benefited by receiving impost duties into their treasuries, were averse from the giving of them up to the union. Others, who were confuming but not importing States, had an interested inducement of an opposite kind, to support the proposed new constitution. The prospects of increased employment for shipping, and the enlargement of commerce, weighed with those States which abounded in failors and ships, and also with feaport towns, to advocate the adoption of the new system; but those States or parts of States, which depended chiefly on agriculture, were afraid that zeal for encouraging an American marine, by narrowing the grounds of competition among foreigners for purchasing and carrying their produce, would leffen their profits. Some of this description therefore conceived that they had a local interest in refusing the new system.

Individuals who had great influence in state legislatures, or who held profitable places under them, were unwilling to adopt a government which, by diminishing the power of the states, would eventually diminish their OH

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own importance: others who looked forward to feats in the general government, or for offices under its authority, had the fame interested reason for supporting its adoption. Some from jealoufy of liberty, were afraid of giving too much power to their rulers; others, from an honest ambition to aggrandize their country, were for paving the way to national greatness by melting down the separate States into a national mass. The former feared the New Constitution; the latter gloried in it. Almost every passion which could agitate the human breast, interested States and individuals for and against the adoption of the proposed plan of government. Some whole classes of people were in its favor. The mass of public creditors expected payment of their debts from the establishment of an efficient gopernment, and were therefore decidedly for its adoption. Such as lived on falaries, and those who, being clear of debt, wished for a fixed medium of circulation and the free course of law, were the friends of a constitution which prohibited the iffuing of paper money and all interference between debtor and creditor. In addition to thefe, the great body of independent men, who faw the necessity of an energetic general government, and who, from the jarring interests of the different States, could not foresee any probability of getting a better one than was proposed, gave their support to what the federal convention had projected, and their influence effected its establishment. After a full confideration, and thorough discussion of its principles, it was ratified by the conventions of eleven of the original thirteen States, and the accession of the other two is foon expected.* The ratification of it was celebrated in most of the capitals of the States with elegant procesfions, which far exceeded any thing of the kind ever before exhibited in America. Time and experience only can fully discover the effects of this new distribution of the powers of government; but in theory it feems well calculated to unite liberty with fafety, and to lay the foundation of national greatness, while it abridges none of the rights of the States, or of the people. The North-Carolina fince writing the above, has acceded to the union.

1789.

The new constitution having been ratified by eleven of the States, and fenators and representatives having been chosen agreeably to the articles thereof, they met a New York and commenced proceedings under it. The old Congress; and confederation, like the continental money, expired without a figh or groan. A new Con-April, grefs, with more ample powers and a new conflictution, partly national and partly federal, succeeded in their place to the great joy of all who wished for the happiness of the United States.

> Though great diversity of opinions had prevailed about the new conflitution, there was but one opinion about the person who should be appointed its supreme executive officer. The people, as well anti-federalifts as fede. ralists, (for by these names the parties for and against the new constitution were called) unanimously turned their eyes on the late commander of their armies, as the most proper person to be their first President. Perhaps there was not a well informed individual in the United States, (Mr. Washington himself only excepted) who was not anxious that he should be called to the executive administration of the proposed new plan of government. Unambitious of farther honors he had retired to his farm in Virginia, and hoped to be excused from all farther public fervice; but his country called him by an unanimous vote to fill the highest station in its gift. honest zeal for the public good, which had uniformly influenced him to devote both his time and talents to the service of his country, got the better of his love of retirement, and induced him once more to engage in the great business of making a nation happy. The intelligence of his election being communicated to him, while on his farm in Virginia, he fet out foon after for New-York." On his way thither, the road was grouded with numbers anxious to see the Man of the people. Efcorts of militia, and of gentlemen of the first character and station, attended him from State to State, and he was every where received with the highest honors which a grateful and admiring people could confer. Addresses of congratulation were prefented to him by the inhabitant of almost every place of consequence through which he

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paffed, to all of which he returned such modest unassuming answers as were in every respect suitable to his situation. So great were the honors, with which he was loaded, that they could scarcely have failed to produce haughtiness in the mind of any ordinary man; but nothing of the kind was ever discovered in this extraordinary personage. On all occasions he behaved to all men with the affability of one citizen to another. He was truly great in deserving the plaudits of his country, but much greater in not being elated with them.

Of the numerous addresses which were presented on this occasion, one subscribed by Dennis Ramsay the Mayor of Alexandria, in the name of the people of that city, who were the neighbours of Mr. Washington, was particularly and universally admired. It was in the fol-

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"To GEORGE WASHINGTON, Efq. President of the United States, &c.

"AGAIN your country commands your care. Obedient to its wishes, unmindful of your ease, we see you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement; and this too, at a period of life, when nature itself seems to authorize a preference of repose!

"Not to extol your glory as a foldier; not to pour forth our gratitude for past services; not to acknowledge the uffice of the unexampled honour which has been conferred upon you by the fpontaneous and unanimous fuffrage of three millions of freemen, in your election to the supreme magistracy; nor to admire the patriotism which lirects your conduct, do your neighbours and friends now address you; themes less splendid but more endearng, impress our minds. The first and best of citizens must eave us; our aged must lose their ornament; our youth heir modet; our agriculture its improver; our comnerce its friend; our infant academy its protector; our poor their benefactor; and the interior navigaion of the Potowmack (an event replete with the nost extensive utility, already, by your unremitted exrtions, brought into partial use) its institutor and pronoter.

Vol. II.

" Farewell!--Go! and make a grateful people happy; a people, who will be doubly grateful, when they con-

template this recent facrifice for their interest."

"To that Being, who maketh and unmaketh at his will, we commend you; and after the accomplishment of the arduous bufiness to which you are called, may he restor to us again, the best of men, and the most believed fellow citizen ["

To this Mr. Washington returned the following anfwer:

"GENTLEMEN,

" Although I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot deferibe the painful emotions which I felt in being called up. on to determine whether I would accept or refuse the prefidency of the United States. The unanimity in the choice, the opinion of my friends, communicated from different parts of Europe, as well as from America, the apparent with of those who were not entirely satisfied with the constitution in its present form; and an arden defire on my own part to be instrumental in connecting the good will of my countrymen towards each other; have induced an acceptance. Those who know me best (and you, my fellow citizens, are from your fituation, in that number) know better than any others, my love of retire ment is fo great, that no earthly confideration, short of conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to de part from my refolution " never more to take any fhan in transactions of a public nature." For, at my age and in my circumstances, what prospects or advantage could I propose to myself, from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life?

" I do not feel myfelf under the necessity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your in terests; the whole tenor of my life has been open to you inspection; and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge of my future conduct

"In the mean time, I thank you most fincerely for the expressions of kindness, contained in your valedictor It is true, just after having bade adieu to m domestic connexions, this tender proof of your friend

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thip is but too well calculated, still further to awaken my fensibility, and increase my regret at parting from the enjoyment of private life.

"All that now remains for me, is to commit myself and you to the protection of that beneficent Being, who on a former occasion hath happily brought us together, after a long and distressing separation; perhaps the same gracious providence will again indulge me. Unutterable sensations must then be left to more expressive silence; while from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate friends, and kind neighbours, farewell!

Gray's bridge over the Schuylkill which Mr. Washington had to pass, was highly decorated with lanrels and evergreens. At each end of it were erected magnificent arches composed of laurels, emblematical of the ancient Roman triumphal arches; and on each side of the bridge, was a laurel shrubbery. As Mr. Washington passed the bridge, a youthornamented with sprigs of laurel, assisted by machinery let drop above his head, though unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel. Upwards of 20,000 citizens lined the fences, fields, and avenues, between the Schuylkill and Philadelphia. Through these he was conducted to the city, by a numerous and respectable body of the citizens, where he partook of an elegant entertainment provided for him. The pleasures of the day were succeeded by a handsome display of fireworks in the evening.

When Mr. Washington crossed the Delaware, and landed on the Jersey shore, he was faluted with three cheers by the inhabitants of the vicinity. When he came to the brow of the hill, on his way to Trenton, a triumphal arch was erected on the bridge, by the direction of the ladies of the place. The crown of the arch was highly ornamented with imperial laurels and flowers, and on it was displayed in large figures, December 26th 1776. On the sweep of the arch, beneath was this inscription, The defender of the Mothers, will also protest their Daughters. On the north side were ranged a number of young misses dressed in white, with garlands of flowers on their heads, and baskets of flowers on their arms; in the second row stood the young ladies, and behind them the married la-

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dies of the town. The instant the passed the arch, the young misses began to sing the following ode:

"Welcome mighty chief once more,

"Welcome to this grateful shore:

"Now no mercenary foe

"Aims again the fatal blow,

"Aims at thee the fatal blow.

"Virgins fair, and matrons grave,

"These thy conquering arm did save,

"Build for thee triumphal bowers,

"Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,

"Strew your Hero's way with flowers."

As they fung the last lines, they strewed their flower on the road before their beloved deliverer. His fituation on this occasion, contrasted with what he had in Dec. 1776 felt on the same spot, when the affairs of America were at the lowest ebb of depression, filled him with sensati ons that cannot be described. He was rowed across the bay from Elizabeth-Town to New-York, in an elegant barge by thirteen pilots. All the vessels in the harbour hoisted their flags. Stairs were erected and decorated for his reception. On his landing, universal joy diffused itfelf through every order of the people, and he was received and congratulated by the Governor of the State, and officers of the corporation. He was conducted from the landing place to the house which had been fitted up for his reception, and was followed by an elegant procession of militia in their uniforms, and by great numbers of citizens. In the evening, the houses of the inhabitants were brilliantly illuminated. A day was fixed foon after his arrival, for his taking the oath of office, which was in the following words: "I do folemnly fweat that I will faithfully execute the office of Prefident of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preferve, protect, and defend, the constitution of the Unit ed States." On this occasion he was wholly clothed in American manufactures. In the morning of the day appointed for this purpose, the clergy of different denominations affembled their congregations in their respect tive places of worship, and offered up public prayers for the President and people of the United States. About

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oon a procession, followed by a multitude of citizens, moved from the Prefident's house to Federal Hall. When they came within a short distance from the Hall, the croops formed a line on both fides of the way, through which Mr. Washington, accompanied by the Vice-President Mr. John Adams, paffed into the Senate chamber, Immediately after, accompanied by both houses, he went into the gallery fronting Broad street, and before them and an immense concourse of citizens, took the oath prescribed by the constitution, which was administered by R. R. Livingston, the Chancellor of the State of New-York. An awful filence prevailed among the spectators during this part of the ceremony. It was a minute of the most sublime political joy. The Chancellor then proclaimed him Prefident of the United States. answered by the discharge of 13 guas, and by the effusions of thours, from near 10,000 grateful and affectionate hearts. The Prefident bowed most respectfully to the people, and the air retounded again with their acclamations. He then retired to the Senate chamber, where he made the following speech to both houses:

" Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives.

"Among the viciflitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which he notification was transmitted by your order, and receivd on the 14th day of the present month --. On the one hand, I was fummoned by my country, whose voice I an never hear but with veneration and love, from a rereat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, nd in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, s the afylum of my declining years; a retreat which as rendered every day more necessary as well as more lear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health, to the gradual vaste committed on it by time. --- On the other hand, the day he magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the ent deno oice of my country called me, being sufficient to awakrayers for liftrufful ferutiny into his qualifications, could not but verwhelm with despondence, one, who, inheriting in-

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ferior endowments from nature, and unpractifed in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conficious of his own desiciencies. In this consist of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance, by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that, if in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful rememberance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendant proof of the considence of my fellow citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me; my error will be palliated by the motives which milled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

"Such being the impressions under which I have in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present flation; it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the univerfe---who prefides in the councils of nations --- and whose providential aids can fupply every human defect --- that His benediction may confecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these effential purposes; and may enable every inftrument employed in its administration, to execute with fuccess, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I affure myfelf that it expresses your fentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invifible Hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, feems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations, and voluntary confent of fo many diffinct communities, from which the event has refulted, cannot be compared

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compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the suture blessings which the past seem to presage. These reslections arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

"By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the Prefident "to recommend to your confideration, fuch measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are affembled, and which, in defining your powers, defignates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to fubflitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In those honorable qualifications, I behold the furest pledges that as on one fide no local prejudices, or attachments---no separate views, nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great affemblage of communities and interests; fo, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government, be exemplified by all the atributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every fatisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire. Since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the œconomy and course of nature, an indisfoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage, beween the genuine maxims of an-honest and magnanimous people, and the folid rewards of public prosperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven, can never be expected on a nation that difregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained. And fince the prefervation of the facred fire of liberty, and the defting of the republican model of government, are justly confidered as deeply, perhaps as finally flaked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people,

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, It will remain with your judgment to decide, how far ; in hur an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the 5th to favor article of the constitution, is rendered expedient at the delibera present juncture by the nature of objections which have deciding been urged against the system, or by the degree of inqui-

ctude which has given birth to them.

"Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on be eq this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your differnment and pursuit of The Pres

the public good.

"For I affure myfelf that whilft you carefully avoid every in the e alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await wing gr the future lesson of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the of the public harmony, will fufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

"To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore

be as brief as possible.

When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an ardnow fwered struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated and duty required, that I should renounce every peculiar American Compensation. From this resolution I have in the instance departed. And being still under the impressions of instance departed. which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to

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any there in the perforal emoluments, which may diffentibly included in a permanent provision for the mive department; and must accordingly pray, that pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am plamay, during my continuance in it, be limited to actual expenditures as the public good may be ght to require.

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Having thus imparted to you my fentiments, as they been awakened by the occasion which brings us toer-I shall take my present leave; but not without oring once more to the benign Parent of the human in humble supplication, that fince He has been pleato favor the American people with opportunities deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of quis conment, for the security of their union, and the ancement of their happiness; so His Divine bleffing be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the perate confultations, and the wife meafures, on which success of this government must depend."

The Prefident, of Congress, then attended on divine

very in the evening a very ingenious and splendid shew of nitworks was exhibited. Betwixt the fort and the wait rling green stood conspicuous, a superb and brilliant the aparent painting, in the centre of which was the portthe of the President represented under the emblem of per mude, on his right hand was justice, representing the ore nate of the United States, and on his left, Wifdom, rean fenting the house of Representatives.

This memorable day completed the organization of the ronstitution. By this establishment the rising gene-Re- ion will have an opportunity of observing the result of experiment in politics, which before has never been fairly de. The experience of former ages, has given many metholy proofs, that popular governments have feldom out wered in practice, to the theories and warm withes of at air admirers. The prefent inhabitants of independ-America, now have an opportunity to wipe off this af-"orion, to affert the dignity of human nature, and the capay of mankind for felf-government.

Vol. H. Yy

Citizens of the United States ! you have a well balan constitution established by general confent, which is an provement on all reny lican forms of government her fore established wolfestes the good qualities of monan but without as vices. The wisdom and flability of aristocracy, but without the infolence of hereditary The freedom and independence of a popular fembly acquainted with the wants and wishes of the ple, but without the capacity of doing those misch which result from uncontrolled power in one affem The end and object of it is public good. If you are happy it will be your own fault. No knave or fool plead an hereditary right to sport with your property your liberties. Your laws and your lawgivers mult proceed from yourselves. You have the experience nearly fix thousand years, to point out the rocks on whi former republics have been dashed to pieces. La wisdom from their misfortunes. Cultivate justice be public and private. No government will or can end which does not protect the rights of its subjects. U less fuch efficient regulations are adopted, as will see property as well as liberty, one revolution will follow another. Anarchy, monarchy or despotism, will be consequence. By just laws and the faithful execution them, public and private credit will be restored, and restoration of credit will be a mine of wealth to this you country. It will make a fund for agriculture, commer and manufactures, which will foon enable the Unit States to claim an exalted rank among the nations of earth. Such are the resources of your country, and trifling are your debts, compared with your refourt that proper systems wisely planned and faithfully execute will foon fill your extensive territory with inhabitant and give you the command of fuch ample capitals, will enable you to run the career of national greatne with advantages equal to the oldest kingdoms of Euro What they have been flowly growing to, in the course near two thousand years you may hope to equal with one century. If you continue under one governmen built on the folid foundations of public justice, and put daily lic virtue, there is no point of national greatness which you may not aspire with a well founded hope

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edily attaining it. Cherish and support a reverence government, and cultivate union between the East and South, the Atlantic and the Miffiffippi. Let the atell good of the greatest number by the pole star of r public and private deliberations. Shun wars, they et debt, add to the common vices of mankind, and duce others, which are almost peculiar to themselves. riculture, manufactures and commerce, are your per bufiness. Seek not to enlarge your territory conquest. It is already fusiciently extensive. You e ample scope for the employment of your most ve minds, in promoting your own domestic hapels. Maintain your own rights and let all others main in quiet possession of theirs. Avoid discord, ion, luxury and the other vices which have been bane of commonwealths. Cherith and reward philosophers, the statesmen and the patriots, who detheir talents and time at the expence of their private refts, to the toils of enlightening and directing their ow citizens, and thereby refere citizens and rulers of follo ublics, from the common and too often merited charge ben ingratitude. Practife industry, frugality, temperance, deration, and the whole lovely train of republican vir-Banish from your borders the liquid fire of the and st-Indies, which while it entails poverty and disease, S YOU mmer vents industry and foments private quarrels. Ve-Unit ate the plough, the hoe, and all the implements agriculture. Honour the men who with their s of t hands maintain their families, and raise up children and are inured to toil, and capable of defending their fource xecute atry. Reckon the necessity of labour not among curses, but the bleffings of life. Your towns will abitant pitals, bably e're long be engulphed in luxury and effe-reating acy. If your liberties and future prospects de-Europe ded on them, your career of liberty would proy be short; but a great majority of your country ourse I with t, and will be yeomanry, who have no other depen-rumer to than on Almighty God for his usual bleffing on and put redaily labour. From the great excess of the numof fuch independent farmers in these States, over tness and hope

and above all other classes of inhabitants, the long continuance of your liberties may be reasonably prefuned

Let the haples African fleep undisturbed on his nation shore, and give over withing for the extermination the ancient proprietors of this land. Universal just is univerfal interest. The most enlarged happiness of or people, by no means requires the degradation or defirm tion of another. It would be more glarious to civil one tribe of favages than to exterminate or expel a feet There is territory enough for them and for you. I flead of invading their rights, promote their happing and give them no reason to curse the folly of their thers, who fuffered yours to fit down on a foil which common Parent of us both had previously affigned them: but above all, be particularly careful that ve own descendents do not degenerate into savages. fuse the means of education, and particularly of reli ous instruction, through your remotest settlements. this end, support and strengthen the hands of put teachers, and especially of worthy clergymen. Lety voluntary contributions confute the diffeonourable m tion, that religion cannot be supported but by compu ry establishments. Remember that there can be no litical happiness without liberty; that there can be no berty without morality; and that there can be no mor ty without religion.

It is now your turn to figure on the face of the en and in the annals of the world. You possess a committee which in less than a century will probably contain millions of inhabitants. You have, with a great explored blood and treasure, rescued yourselves and your prity from the domination of Europe. Perfect the work you have begun, by forming such arrangement institutions as bid fair for ensuring to the present and ture generations the blessings for which you have cessfully contended.

May the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, who raised you to Independence, and given you a place and the nations of the earth, make the American Revolution an Era in the history of the world, remarkable for progressive increase of human happiness!---

An Alphabetical List of the Members of Congress, who attended from the several States, from the 5th November, 1774, to the 3d of March, 1789.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE

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Atkinson George Bartlet Joseph Blanchard Jonathan Folfom Nathaniel Frost George Foster Abiel Gilman John Taylor Gilman Nicholas Livermore Samuel Long Pierce Langdon John Peabody Mr. Sullivan John Thornton Matthew Whipple William Wentworth Mr. Woodbury Mr. White Mr. Wingate Pain.

MASSACHUSETTS,

Adams Samuel Adams John Cushing Thomas Dana Francis Dane Nathan Gerry Elbridge Gorham Nathaniel Hancock John Holten Samuel Higgenson Stephen Jackson Jonathan King Rutus Lovell James Lowell John Ofgood Samuel Otis Samuel Allyn Paine Robert Treat Partridge George Sedgewick Theodorus Ward Artemus.

RHQDE-ISLAND,

Arnold Jonathan
Arnold Peleg
Collins John
Cornell Ezekiel
Ellery William
Gardner Juleph
Hopkins Stephen
Howell David
Hazard Jonathan
Marchant Henry
Moury Mr.
Manning James
Miller Nathan
Varnam James M.
Ward Samuel.

CONNECTICUT,

Adams A. Cook Joseph Platt Dyer Eliphalet Deane Silas Ellworth Oliver Edwards Pierpoint Huntington Samuel Huntington Benjamin Johnson William Samuel Law Richard Mitchell Stephen Mix Root Jeffe Sherman Roger Spencer Joseph Sturges Jonathan Wolcott Oliver Williams William Wadsworth Jeremiah,

NEW-YORK,

Alsop John

NEW-YORK, mo

Boerum Simon Benfon Egbert Duane James Duer William Floyd William annity A bas of Gansevoort Leonard Gelston David -300HS Haring John Hamilton Alexander Jay John Livingston Philip Jay John Lewis Frances mostin warming Low Isaac Livingston Robert R. L'Hommedieu Ezra Lanfing John Junr. Livingston Walter Morris Goveneur M'Dougall Alexander Paine Ephraim Platt Zephaniah Pell Philip Scott John Morin Schuyler Philip Smith Melancton Wifner Henry Yates Peter W. Yates Abraham Junr.

NEW-JERSEY,

Boudinot Elias Burnett W. malle W norther I charif. Beatty John Crane Stephen Clark Abraham Cooper John Condict Silas deplot 12 18 Cadwallader Lambert Dehart John will have yet Dayton Jonathan Elmer Jonathan distribution Fell John Freelinghausen Frederick Hart John Hopkinson Francis Houstoun William Churchhill Hornblower Josiah Kinsey James

Livingston William
Smith Richard
Sergeant Jonathan D.
Scudder Nathaniel
Stephens John
Symmes John C.
Schureman James
Witherspoon John Doctor,

PENNSYLVANIA, ME

Atlee Samuel Journal of Meles Armstrong John Jane & Hort Armstrong John Jung Biddle Edward T natel named Bayard John Maloka / San 12 Bingham William Clymer George and mo. Clingan William Holomona Coxe Tench Peabody Mr. Dickinson John and gavillus Duffield Samuel Duffield Samuel Franklin Benjamin Doctor Fitzsimmons Thomas Gardner Joseph Windhoo V Galloway Joseph Humphrey Charles 1 alega V Hand Edward Henry William Ingeriol Jared
Jackson David Irvine William . and all alliable Mifflin Thomas Llana v rapcis Morton John Morris Robert M'Clene James Matlack Timothy Montgomery Joseph Morris Cadwallader Meredith Samuel Peters Richard Roads Samuel Ross George Roberdeau Daniel Ross George Reed Joseph Reid James R. Hadollams Smith Jonathan B. Searle James Shippen William St. Clair Arthur Wilson James . Wynkoop Henry.

+ Rush Benjamin Forter

DELAWARE,

Bedford Gunning Junr.
Dickinfon John
Dickinfon Philemon
Kearnny Dyre
M'Kean Thomas
M'Comb Eleazer
Mitchell Nathaniel
Patton John
Perry William
Rodney Caefar
Rodney Thomas
Sykes James
Tilton James
Van Dyke Nicholas
Vining Joha
Wharton Samuel.

MARYLAND,

Alexander Robert Chase Samuel Carrol Charles of Carrolton Carrol Daniel Contee Benjamin Forbes James 201000 Rocks / Goldsborough Robert Henry John Hanson John Hemfley William Hindman William Harison William Howard John E. Johnson Thomas enifer Daniel of St. Thomas Lee Mr. Lloyd Edward M'Henry James Paca William Plater George Potts Richard Rumsey Benjamin Ramfay Nathaniel Ross David Smith William Stone Thomas Seney Joshua Tilghman Matthew Wright Mr.

VIRGINIA,

Adams Thomas

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Braxton Carter Banister Mr. and Bland Theodorick Williams Mr. Brown John Carrington Edward Dawson John
Fleming William
Fitzhugh Mr. Griffin Cyrus Grayfon William Henry Patrick Harison Benjamin Harvie Mr. Hency James Hardy Samuel Jefferson Thomas ones Joseph Lee Richard Henry Lee Francis Lightfoot Lee Arthur Lee Henry Mercer James Madison James Jun. Mercer John Francis Monroe James Nelfon Thomas Pendleton Edmund Page Mann Randolph Peyton. Randolph Edmund Smith Merriweather Washington George Walker John.

NORTH-CAROLINA

Ashe John Baptist Burke Thomas Blount William Bloodworth Timothy Burton Robert Caswell Richard Cumming William Hooper William Hewes Joseph Harnett Cornelius Hill Whitmel Hawkins Benjamin Jones Allen Jones Willie Johnston Samuel Nath Abner Penn John Sharpe William

Spaight Richard Dobbs Sitgreaves John AM Toffined Swann John Hallasell bould Williams Mr. Brown lottl Williamson Hught norgains White James. mid nolwall

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

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Kean John
Laurens Henry
Lynch Thomas Middleton Henry Toll notted Middleton Arthur Matthews John Country Brolled Pinckney Charles | morning Rutledge John Styll Vanna N Rutledge Edward Ramfay David Wolf Coop M Read Jacob smadis V Haldrill Trapier Paul | gial none T Tucker Thomas Toder

GEORGIA, Vonto

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Mandolph Peutor Prefidents of CONGRBSS, from 1774, till 1789

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dwirth Mitting Peyton Randolph not midle W. Henry Middleton do rolls W John Hancock Henry Laurens John Jay Ather John Bandill Samuel Huntington of Land Thomas MeKean Wandel

John Hanfon John Hanfon Elias Boudinot Thomas Mifflin Richard Henry Lee Nathaniel Goreham Arthur St. Clair Arthur St. Clair Stave to Black



THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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